



Tombs *of the* South Asasif Necropolis

Thebes, Karakhamun (TT 223), and
Karabasken (TT 391) in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty

Edited by Elena Pischikova

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**Edited by
Elena Pischikova**

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Introduction

This volume is the first joint publication of the members of the American–Egyptian South Asasif Conservation Project, working under the auspices of the Ministry of State for Antiquities and the Supreme Council of Antiquities, and directed by Dr. Elena Pischikova. The project is dedicated to the clearing, restoration, and reconstruction of the tombs of Karabasken (TT 391) and Karakhamun (TT 223) of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty and the tomb of Irtieru (TT 390) of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.

These tombs, located in the South Asasif necropolis, were considered almost completely ruined by floods and constant re-usage. Therefore, when the project was initiated in 2006, the team was uncertain of the condition of the tombs and the amount of original material still remaining in the ruins and debris. The results of the first few years of work surpassed the most optimistic prognoses, of which there were not many. The tombs, as damaged as they are, have proved to be reconstructible, based on the thousands of fragments of the original decoration found during the clearing of the remains of the architectural features.

After the first six years of fieldwork (2006–2011), with the tantalizing amount of new information increasing every year, our team felt it was time to make this information available to colleagues and the public and inspire a discussion of different aspects of our findings and research, hence this first team publication of our work in the necropolis. We must stress that this collection of chapters, written by twelve of our mission members, is of a preliminary nature. The research offered here is based on the as yet incomplete results of our fieldwork, which may continue for up to ten more years. We did not want to keep the results of our work unavailable for such a long time. We feel that it is much more important to start discussing the obtained information at this point rather than postpone the publication till we are able to finish the fieldwork and make conclusive statements.

This first publication does not pretend to be decisive. We discuss the tombs based on what we know now, make predictions that may not be justified in the future, and come up with suggestions that we may contradict at the end of the project. There are certain issues that the members of the project's team do not agree upon, and this is reflected in the publication as well. Our future finds may support or challenge some of the statements made today, and some issues may remain unresolved even at the end of the project. The present collection of chapters is not a formal excavation report with a catalogue of all the finds. We will be publishing on each tomb separately as soon as its excavation is finished. For this introductory publication, we have chosen certain aspects of our work that reflect the scope of the project and the innovative nature of our first results.

The quantity and quality of the new information we have collected on the fairly unknown Kushite tombs of Karakhamun and Karabasken adds to our understanding of the history, architecture, and art of the first half of the Kushite period, as well as our interpretation of the phenomenon of the so-called Kushite Renaissance, its roots, and archaism in the Kushite and Saite periods. The international conference "Thebes in the First Millennium BC" organized by the South Asasif Conservation Project in Luxor in 2012 put our results and research in a broader perspective. The proceedings of the conference, forthcoming in 2014, will reflect this new perception of the necropolis and feature the results of the 2012-2013 seasons.

The History and Monuments of Thebes in the Kushite Period

1

Thebes under the Kushites

Robert G. Morkot

The Historical Background

Kushite rule in Thebes lasted from around 750 bc until the transfer of power to Psamtik I marked by the arrival of the Saite princess Nitocris to be adopted by Amenirdis II in 656 bc. During that period, which lasted perhaps a century, Thebes enjoyed a revival of its fortunes, which had been declining with the increased emphasis on the Delta and the north and the loss of the empire in Nubia. The political—and hence economic—background to Kushite rule in Egypt is reflected in the changing phases of activity in Thebes.

The history of Thebes in the late Libyan period still divides Egyptologists, and the sequence of events which brought Upper Egypt under Kushite rule remains unclear.¹ Further confusion has been caused by revisions of the Kushite dynasty's chronology based on a misunderstanding of an Assyrian inscription at Tang-i Var in Iran.² What is certain is that beginning in the reign of Takeloth II (the later ninth century bc), there had been Theban rebellions against the northern rulers and their appointed High Priest of Amun, the Crown Prince Osorkon, son of Takeloth II. Most Egyptologists believe that an independent local dynasty emerged, although which kings were involved is still actively debated.³ This is not the place to rehearse the controversies, but clearly the Kushite expansion took advantage of a divided Egypt. Despite the political turmoil of the period, many Theban officials are known from statues, stelae, and funerary monuments, and their families can be traced throughout the period.⁴

Kashta may have brought Thebes under Kushite rule, but the evidence is very unclear and opinions remain divided on its interpretations.⁵ The stele fragment from Elephantine is the only certain Egyptian monument naming the king, but no year-date or narrative text survive.⁶ Although a damaged cartouche associated with a

regnal year 1 preserved in the Karnak Priestly Annals has been attributed to Kashta, the reading remains uncertain.⁷ As yet, no inscriptions record military actions by Kashta, but these are widely assumed to have happened. Some writers have speculated that the Thebans invited the Kushites to intervene in local politics, but this too is without evidence.

The adoption of Kashta's daughter, with the Egyptian name Amenirdis, by the reigning God's Wife of Amun, Shepenwepet I, provides the only chronological link to Egyptian rulers: her father Osorkon III and her brother Takeloth III. Although the genealogical connections are certain, the protagonists and the dating of the adoption remain controversial, and even the identity of Osorkon III, and his dynasty, are disputed. Many Egyptologists identify Osorkon III with the earlier crown prince and High Priest of Amun, the son of Takeloth II, and hence of the Bubastite Twenty-second Dynasty, but others see him as a Theban (or Herakleopolitan) dynast.⁸ Kitchen, following the arguments of M.F.L. Macadam for brother-succession, argued that the Kushite ruler who effected the adoption of Amenirdis was not her father, Kashta, but her (presumed) brother, Piye.⁹ However, there are no grounds for this, and no contemporary monuments link Piye and Amenirdis. Surviving evidence shows that the God's Wives were installed by their fathers.¹⁰

Exactly how the Kushites achieved and consolidated their rule over Thebes and Upper Egypt, and how long the reign of Kashta was, can only be resolved with the discovery of new evidence. What is clear from the sandstone stele, and some stele fragments, of Piye from Gebel Barkal is that the king was recognized as legitimate ruler in Thebes and Upper Egypt by year 3 of his reign.¹¹ From the 'Victory Stele' of year 21, we learn that there was a Kushite garrison in Thebes, and when the king sent his army northward, they were instructed to purify themselves and pay reverence to Amun.¹² There must have been treaties drawn up between the Kushites and their allies, Nimlot of Hermopolis, whose kingdom lay immediately to the north of Theban territory, and Peftjauawybast of Herakleopolis. When Piye himself arrived in Thebes with his family and another army, he celebrated the Opet festival. Following the submission of most of the Libyan dynasts of the Delta, first at Memphis and then at Athribis, Piye seems to have returned to Napata. Some later documents from Thebes and the oases are dated by his reign, but there is no evidence for further direct involvement by the king in Egypt. Beyond benefactions to the temple of Amun as a result of the campaign, Piye tells us nothing more about Thebes. Remarkably, given the king's devotion to the cult of Amun, Piye appears to have dedicated no major monuments in the city, or, if he did, they were later destroyed.¹³

At the beginning of his reign (probably 711/710 bc), Shabaqo established himself as a pharaoh in Memphis, and his successors Shebitqo, Taharqo, and Tanwetamani also appear to have used that city as a major royal residence. From the time of Shabaqo to Taharqo's tenth year (680 bc), Kushite rule in Egypt was, as far as we can tell, unchallenged, allowing the kings to become actively involved in international

politics and trade. The major power of the period, Assyria, had exerted its rule over the whole of western Asia, gradually reducing vassals to provinces. Assyria was, however, faced with constant rebellions. The later years of the reign of Sargon II (721–705 bc) and the early ones of Sennacherib (705–681 bc) saw Assyrian attention diverted from the west, enabling the Kushites to establish themselves as the major trading partner with the Levantine cities. The conflict came in 701 bc when Sennacherib came west in person to suppress the rebellion of Judah and its allies, defeating the Egyptian army at Eltekeh. However, Sennacherib was once again drawn elsewhere and Egypt was able to expand its influence for another twenty years.

The first decade of Taharqo's reign (690–680 bc) appears to have been peaceful and prosperous—he constructed the temple of Kawa in Kush (and probably those of Sanam and Tabo as well), sending artisans from Memphis and using quantities of timber and metal from western Asia. There were exceptionally high Niles in years 6, 7, 8, and 9, all recorded on the quay at Karnak. In addition, the year 6 inundation was detailed on several stelae. These Nile levels were the highest in a period characterized by exceptional inundations and as a result, agricultural productivity may have been particularly good throughout the Kushite period.

From 680 bc onward, Assyrian aggression toward Egypt under its new king, Esarhaddon (681–669 bc), led to continuous political changes of allegiance by the Delta dynasts in their attempts at self-preservation. After at least one failed attempt, Esarhaddon invaded Egypt in 671 bc, and following three or more battles, defeated and wounded Taharqo and stormed Memphis. Along with great treasure, Esarhaddon carried off Taharqo's wives, officials, and even the crown prince; but Assyrian success was short-lived, partly due to defections by the Delta dynasts, and Taharqo re-established himself in Memphis. Esarhaddon again led his army toward Egypt; only the king's sudden death en route brought a brief respite. Having asserted his authority in the homeland, the new king, Assurbanipal (669–627 bc), marched against Egypt. Taharqo retreated from Memphis to Thebes, and with the Assyrian advance into Egypt, the Libyan dynasts sought another alliance with him. When Assurbanipal learned of this, Assyrian vengeance was savage on the Delta cities and their rulers, many of whom were executed. The ruler of Sais, Nekau, was installed as the Assyrian vassal ruler, with his son, the future Psamtik I, as his deputy in Athribis. Shortly after, Taharqo died at Thebes or in Kush (664 bc).

Following his accession, Taharqo's successor, Tanwetamani, advanced northward, taking Memphis and apparently killing Nekau in battle. The other Libyan dynasts paid fealty to him, but the Assyrians responded swiftly: Assurbanipal and his army invaded Egypt in 663 bc, and Tanwetamani fled, first to Thebes, then to Kush. The Assyrians now moved south through Egypt, capturing and sacking Thebes. The king's inscriptions tell us that he carried off the treasures of the royal palace, along with two obelisks of electrum, the doorposts of the temple door, and "great booty beyond counting." The sack of Thebes was a catastrophe later invoked by the Jewish prophet Nahum. Despite this advance far into Egypt, Assyrian control did not last. Assyria's

failure was due more to events in other parts of its empire than to Kushite success, but whether or not he returned to Egypt, Tanwetamani continued to be acknowledged as the ruler of Thebes and Upper Egypt until his eighth or ninth year (656 bc). In the Delta, Psamtik I, playing an astute political game (no doubt combined with force), asserted Saite control, and in the joint ninth year of his and Tanwetamani's reigns, his daughter Nitocris was sent to Thebes as the heiress to the God's Wife of Amun, an act seen as signifying the end of Kushite rule in Upper Egypt.¹⁴

The People of Thebes

A Kushite garrison was presumably established in Upper Egypt, perhaps in Thebes itself, as soon as their authority was asserted there under Kashta or Piye. Most probably a number of Kushite officials were appointed to key offices in Thebes from the beginning of the Kushite rule, and there were intermarriages with the leading Theban families.¹⁵

Thebes was dominated throughout the Libyan period by a group of elite families, some of which could trace their ancestries back to Ramesside times. Shoshenq I appointed his son as High Priest of Amun, and the office remained in the royal family. Both high priests and kings allied themselves to the Theban elite through marriage, and by the late Libyan period, many families could trace one or more royal lines of descent.¹⁶

The High Priest of Amun headed the religious hierarchy. This went unchallenged until the reign of Takeloth II, when Thebes rebelled several times against northern authority. The king's appointed High Priest was his eldest son, Crown Prince Osorkon. Resident at al-Hiba in Middle Egypt, Osorkon led several military campaigns against the Theban rebellions. From this point on, there is some evidence for a rival line of kings, with their own high priests, resident in Thebes.¹⁷ The other main offices were held by Theban notables, and the position of Fourth Prophet became hereditary in the Nakhtefmut family, until Karabasken was installed, perhaps under Shabaqo.¹⁸

The most significant religious office of the later Libyan period was that of God's Wife of Amun, a position that gained in importance.¹⁹ Originating in the Eighteenth Dynasty, the office was originally held by the Great Royal Wife, but changed character when Ramesses VI appointed his daughter.²⁰ From then on, the God's Wife was a king's daughter presiding over a group of elite women priestesses, the chantresses of the 'Inner Abode' of Amun.²¹ A new God's Wife was appointed on the death of the incumbent, but with the arrival of the Kushites, adoption was used to secure the transition.²² In this latest phase, until the office ceased with the death of Ankhnesneferibre, the God's Wives celebrated coronations and jubilee (*sed*-) festivals just as kings did.²³ Their palace was presumably near the temple of Amun at Karnak, and they had a large court of officials, male and female.²⁴ The estates of the God's Wife were controlled by the chief stewards, whose importance and wealth is indicated by the scale of their tombs.²⁵

Arriving in Thebes to become the heiress to Shepenwepet I, Amenirdis I, presumably a young girl, must have been accompanied by a considerable number of Kushite attendants and officials.²⁶ Amenirdis I lived until the reign of Taharqo, and her successor, Shepenwepet II, lived on into the reign of Psamtik I and the end of Kushite rule. Taharqo's daughter, Amenirdis II, was alive when Nitocris arrived in Thebes in 656 bc, but it is uncertain whether she remained there or returned to Kush.²⁷

The excavations in the tombs of the South Asasif may answer the question: at what point did the Kushite rulers place their own nominees in key offices such as mayor of Thebes, thereby breaking the hereditary hold of the major Theban families? Some writers have argued that it was as early as the reign of Kashta, but the sculptural style of the tomb of Karabasken suggests that it may have been Shabaqo who appointed him as Fourth Prophet of Amun and mayor of Thebes. More explicit data would be valuable, not only for the political and historical interpretation, but also for refining our understanding of the phases of archaism in art and architecture.

Considering their devotion to the god, Kushite control of the Amun cult came surprisingly late, when Haremakhet, son of Shabaqo, was appointed as High Priest of Amun. The inscriptions on one of Haremakhet's statues suggest that his appointment took place in the reign of Taharqo: he continued in office under Tanwetamani and was succeeded by his own son, Harkhebi. Harkhebi was High Priest in 656 bc when the Saite princess Neitiqert arrived in Thebes, and is documented in the same office in 651 bc. Taharqo appointed one of his own sons, Nesishutefnut, as Second Prophet of Amun.²⁸

One of the most distinctive of all the statues of the Kushite period depicts the official Iriketkana, who carries the conventional titles "hereditary prince and count" and "Royal Friend," but is given no specific function. It is possible that the remarkable physical features represent a eunuch: Kushite eunuchs are referred to in contemporary Assyrian documents.²⁹

Monuments from Thebes and Abydos depict Kushite women with black skin, close-cut hairstyles, and distinctive costumes. Men also appear with Kushite features, although it is not always possible to know whether this is a convention when their names and titles are typically Egyptian. No doubt there were many intermarriages, especially amongst the elite. At the highest level, Mentuemhat, Fourth Prophet of Amun and the leading official in Upper Egypt (recognized as *sharru* (king/ruler) by the Assyrians), married, as his third wife, Wedjarenes, a granddaughter of Piye.³⁰ Kushite burials have been excavated in the necropolis at Thebes. An elite woman named Kheriru, daughter of Pewen and Ritjemdi, was buried in a fine coffin with a conventionally Egyptian face mask, but the other images on the coffin show her with Kushite features and costume. An adjacent chamber contained the burial of a male relative, Il (or Alar).³¹ Others closely associated with the palace carried Egyptian names, and their origins are more difficult to determine: Ramose was a royal scribe, chancellor, "Sole Companion," "Eyes and Ears of the King," and

overseer of the treasury; Tjesreperet was nurse to a daughter of Taharqo. A number of royal relatives were buried or commemorated at Abydos, and it can be assumed that Thebes probably was their residence for much of the time.³²

Religious Renaissance

The first focus of Kushite religion was the cult of Amun: Piye voiced his belief that it was the god of Thebes who had given him rule over Egypt and the power to make and unmake kings and chiefs. Undoubtedly there was a religious and artistic renaissance in the city of Amun as a result of the patronage of the Kushite pharaohs, but they were active elsewhere in Egypt, too. Although the renewal of the city began quite early, it is the later phases of Kushite rule, particularly the reign of Taharqo, that saw what can probably be described as a truly 'Theban' revival.³³

In religious practices, one of the most important features of the period was the renewal of the great annual Feast of the Valley. Even if this local festival had not completely ceased during the Libyan period, its importance seems to have waned, perhaps linked to the changes in burial practices. Intriguingly, there is no direct evidence of Kushite restoration in the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir al-Bahari, but the processional route to the temple became the focus of the new elite necropolis. Some of these tombs, constructed on a massive scale, were given second entrances that opened directly onto the processional avenue. The tombs, with mud-brick pylons above ground and subterranean halls and solar courts, were decorated with fine relief sculpture that referenced back to the monuments of New Kingdom Thebes.³⁴

From the end of the Twentieth Dynasty to the Twenty-fifth, tomb construction at Thebes ceased: burials, usually in groups, were now in reused older tombs, and some took place in the precincts of the royal 'mortuary' temples on the West Bank, notably the Ramesseum. Funerary equipment changed too, with the emphasis placed on the coffins, papyri, and smaller items, rather than the 'daily-life' objects of the New Kingdom. The early Libyan period in Thebes saw the development of funerary texts, some appropriating books that had formerly been an exclusively royal prerogative. Then, for a period of one to two centuries, from about the time of Osorkon II on, richly decorated coffins were replaced by plainer ones, and the inclusion of papyri ceased altogether.

The walls of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty tombs were once again covered with versions of the great religious books of the New Kingdom: the *Book of the Dead*, the *Litany of Re*, and the *Books of the Underworld*. The research carried out into these texts, as they were once again extensively used in tombs, led to the creation of the 'Saite Recension' of the *Book of the Dead*. The first surviving example is the papyrus of Nespasef, a member of a leading Theban family, which can be dated to the reign of Psamtik I. The papyrus contains a statement that chapters were added from a document from Tanis, suggesting that even if these versions are first attested at Thebes, the process of collating and editing them was more widespread. The texts in the tombs of South Asasif show that the use of these texts was earlier in the dynasty than the

evidence from the large tombs of the reigns of Taharqo and Psamtik I had indicated. The Edifice of Taharqo by the Sacred Lake at Karnak includes a version of a book, *The King as Priest of the Sun*, known from the Middle and New Kingdoms. Versions of some of these texts were certainly sent to the Kushite homeland, as they were used in royal burials there from the reign of Tanwetamani onward. Although not of Theban origin, the 'Shabako Stone,' a slab of basalt with a Memphite creation myth, purports to preserve a text from an ancient moldering document found in an archive, showing that this research into religious texts was a widespread feature of the period.³⁵

The cults of other Theban deities, notably Montu, had continued through the Libyan period, but were now particularly prominent.³⁶ Although there is little evidence for the continuation of the cults of the New Kingdom pharaohs, those of the deceased God's Wives of Amun, and at least one Kushite king (Shebitqo), are attested. A cult that may be specifically Twenty-fifth Dynasty in date is that of the Wadjet, the Two Serpent Goddesses: this may be connected with the two cobras worn by the Kushite kings. The priests of this cult also carry the title "Royal Friend," suggesting a close connection with the kingship.

Royal patronage and investment in Thebes increased during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty with the presence of members of the royal family in key offices and as residents, and perhaps the more frequent attendance of kings at religious festivals. In addition to the revival of the Feast of the Valley, there was certainly an emphasis on the journey of Amun to Djeme: both Shabako and Taharqo constructed a temple (known as the Edifice of Taharqo) by the Sacred Lake at Karnak, and Shabako or Shebitqo, followed by Taharqo, added to the temple of Amun of Djeme at Medinet Habu. The festival, celebrated every ten days, began with an appearance of the god in the forecourt of the temple of Luxor. This was followed by his journey to Djeme and rites of recreation. The god later returned to Karnak, apparently along the great processional route from Luxor, and this was the point at which the statue went to the shrine by the Sacred Lake. The God's Wife of Amun played an important role in the rites.³⁷

The changes in burial practice following the Libyan period, with the revival of large-scale tombs, must be linked with the political and economic revival of Thebes and the royal patronage of temples and workshops. It was also related to ritual: the form and position of the tombs were, in part, related to the Feast of the Valley. All temples, and chapels too, were constructed for rituals, so the columned structures at the entrances to temples seem to relate to a specific processional ritual (perhaps new). Large-scale building work, and in key parts of major temples, therefore implies a renewal of, or renewed emphasis on, ritual.

Thebes: Renewal of a City³⁸

From the Nineteenth Dynasty onward, Egypt's focus was increasingly toward the Delta. Although there were many large-scale building works in Thebes, most royal investment was in the new residence city of Per-Ramesses, and the old metropolis

of Memphis. Theban decline really began at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty, when the city ceased to be the royal burial place. Whether the royal workmen were moved north to Tanis or absorbed into the city, there was certainly a rapid decline in monumental work. Although the production of decorated coffins, cartonnage, papyri, and other funerary objects of high quality continued, no new decorated tombs were created for officials until the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. Monumental sculpture and architecture were also much more limited, with royal expenditure and patronage focused on the northern cities, notably Tanis and Bubastis. Presumably sculpture workshops continued at Thebes, attached to the Amun complex, but their scale must have been reduced. There are numerous statues from the Libyan period, but some are certainly recarved, and others may be earlier pieces that had been left unfinished or uninscribed.³⁹

The last major architectural work carried out in Thebes before the Kushite period was the colonnaded forecourt of the temple of Karnak, constructed late in the reign of Shoshenq I. Remarkably, most of this remained undecorated, even by later kings. The 'rebellions' of Thebes against the northern pharaohs must have seen the city to some extent deprived of investment, and any local rulers or dynasties would have had more limited resources available. The loss of the Egyptian empire in Nubia at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty would have had repercussions even though gold production had already declined significantly: there would have been less traffic going south or coming from Kush. It is possible that the economic problems of the later New Kingdom had already seen some of the vast wealth stored in the Amun temple diverted to other uses.

The first significant building works of the late Libyan period were chapels constructed for Osorkon III and his son, the High Priest of Amun and later king, Takeloth III. A chapel erected by the Sacred Lake had reliefs depicting Osorkon III accompanied by Takeloth as High Priest of Amun.⁴⁰ The chapel of Osiris Heqa-Djet shows Osorkon III and Takeloth III as joint kings, along with the God's Wife of Amun, Shepenwepet I.⁴¹ The chapel is on a modest scale, but of excellent workmanship, and the style has many strongly archaizing features, with a northern influence: it is possible that sculptors were brought from Memphis for this. It is unlike other Theban work, and the Old Kingdom features and innovations relate to developments in late Libyan Sais, Tanis, and Memphis.⁴²

At some point, as yet unclear, there must have been a conscious renewal of the Theban workshops. The precise dating of the tombs of Karakhamun and Karabasken is important in this. The quality of the relief sculpture and the clear Old Kingdom influences point to northern inspirations: these in turn suggest the reign of Shabaqo.

Nothing monumental is certainly dateable to the reigns of Kashta or Piye, so if there were any significant works, they were perhaps demolished later or reused. The lack of buildings is surprising, given the devotion of Piye to Amun, but the king may have concentrated all of his building activity in the south, at Gebel Barkal. The only

Theban monument of any real significance that has been attributed to the reign of Piye is the stele recording the installation of the princess Mutirdis as a Prophet of Hathor and Mut.⁴³ The stele is carved in fine low relief and depicts the princess following her father in front of the goddess Mut. The king carries a full five-fold titulary, of which the names Horus “Uniter of the Two Lands” and Golden Horus “Who makes warriors numerous” both suggest a conqueror. The throne name, Menkheperre, was used by Piye on his early monuments, but the second cartouche has been erased in every instance on the stele, which also happens on monuments of Piye. It has been argued that the older attribution to “Pi(ankh)y” is incorrect and the name should be read as “Iny.” Stylistically, the stele has many archaizing and Kushite features: Mutirdis has characteristically close-cut hair with a fillet; the king, too, has a close-fitting headdress with fillet; the form of the female figures and the style of dress are of an Old Kingdom type. The king’s figure is muscular in the Old Kingdom style. Although the head has been erased, there are remains of a pendant ribbon descending from a fillet, and what appears to be a floral knot. The king also appears to have been crowned with the two tall plumes of Amun (as Piye was on the sandstone stele from Gebel Barkal). Altogether this is a remarkable piece, and with the names, seems unlikely to be attributable to an obscure minor local ruler.

With the reign of Shabaqo there was a considerable amount of work in the temples of Karnak and Luxor.⁴⁴ At Karnak, Shabaqo constructed the colonnaded entrance on the north of the court between the Third and Fourth Pylons and renewed the gateway of the Fourth Pylon (known by the inscriptions replicated in the Ptolemaic period). A series of blocks reused in the Edifice of Taharqo by the Sacred Lake probably derive from a structure of Shabaqo in the same place. To the north of the Amun precinct, Shabaqo ordered a new treasury and added gateways to the temple of Ptah. A chapel of Osiris-nebankh was constructed jointly with the God’s Wife Amenirdis I: this housed her celebrated statue in white ‘alabaster’ (calcite).

At Luxor, Shabaqo added a new gateway between the towers of the Ramesside pylon. This was decorated with large-scale images of the king and gods carved in very high relief and showing strongly archaizing and Old Kingdom characteristics. At the same time, an imposing colonnaded structure was erected in front of the main pylon. On the West Bank, Shabaqo (or Shebitqo) may have added to the temple of Amun of Djeme at Medinet Habu. The cult had continued through the Libyan period and the temple was now extended. A series of blocks with decorations of either Shabaqo or Shebitqo were reused in the Ptolemaic rebuilding of the hall preceding the Thutmocide temple.⁴⁵ The temple complex had been used as a burial place by the most important Theban priests, such as Harsiese, and the area adjacent was now used by the God’s Wives of Amun. Shepenwepet I was the first God’s Wife of Amun to be buried at Medinet Habu, perhaps in the reign of Shebitqo.

The monuments of Shabaqo are highly distinctive, and it is perhaps possible to distinguish more than one style. On the granite naos from Esna, a strongly Memphite Old Kingdom style of physique is combined with sharp features (reminiscent of the

work in the tomb of Karakhamun).⁴⁶ The Luxor gateway, too, has Old Kingdom features in the bodies and particularly the layout of the hieroglyphic texts.⁴⁷ In contrast, the relief blocks from the building near the Sacred Lake have rather softer facial features, perhaps a result of the grainy sandstone. Also in sandstone are reused blocks excavated at Edfu and Medinet Habu.⁴⁸ Both groups are executed in a very similar style, but perhaps should be attributed to Shebitqo rather than Shabaqo: the cartouches of the Edfu blocks were re-cut for Psamtik II, erasing all original traces.

Shabaqo's successor, Shebitqo, added to the Theban temples, but on a modest scale. The pylon and court of the chapel of Osiris Heqa-Djet has large-scale reliefs of the king and the God's Wife of Amun Amenirdis I.⁴⁹ Another chapel in a very similar style from near the Sacred Lake was removed to Berlin; this was probably associated with the temple granaries.⁵⁰

The period of the greatest expansion and flourishing of the Theban workshops was the reign of Taharqo. There was far more building work, and also considerably more statuary. The statuary and the relief sculpture in the tombs show not only Old Kingdom, Memphite inspiration, but also copies and adaptations of scenes and 'vignettes' from New Kingdom Theban tombs and the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir al-Bahari.

Earlier scholarship generally attributed 'archaism' to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, or 'Saite Renaissance,' while acknowledging some earlier developments.⁵¹ More recently the origins of 'archaism' in art, language, and literature have been dated more precisely to the end of the reign of Shoshenq III.⁵² There was certainly a northern origin for much of this research into and revival of the past, notably the Memphite region and its monuments. A series of phases of archaism can now be distinguished, and the discovery in the South Asasif tombs of grids using the 'Saite Canon' confirms that this was in use quite early in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. Further work in the tombs of Karabasken and Karakhamun should enable a much more detailed analysis of Kushite archaism and Memphite influence in Thebes.

A large number of black grano-diorite sculptures can be dated to the reign of Taharqo, and these show influence from Middle and New Kingdom models that are as likely to be Theban as Memphite. The over-life-size statue of Taharqo, of which only the head survives, is of a type represented by versions from Gebel Barkal and Dokki-Gel in Sudan.⁵³ They are the official image of the king, and apparently innovative, as no such images survive for Taharqo's predecessors. The king wears the four-plumed crown of Inheret, rising from the Kushite cap: this was originally gilded, as were the ram-headed necklace, armlets, bracelets, kilts, and sandals. This type served as a model for Taharqo's successors.

The head of a statue of Amun found in early twentieth-century excavations in the Mut temple at Karnak uses Kushite details in an idealized divine image.⁵⁴ The remainder of the dyad was rediscovered by the Brooklyn Museum expedition. There are parallels between the Karnak image of Amun and an unprovenanced divine statue, now in Southampton Museum.⁵⁵ This statue, with a striking physique, clearly looks

back to Old Kingdom models, and must represent Amun as a creator god, perhaps Pauti-tawy. The Berlin sphinx of Shepenwepet II was inspired by Twelfth Dynasty or early Eighteenth Dynasty models, with a curling Hathorian wig. A striking image of Amenirdis I (Cairo JE 67871) carved in dark grey granite was commissioned by Shepenwepet II and is very different from the statue in 'alabaster' made in the reign of Shabaqo. As with many images of the God's Wives, the influence of the New Kingdom, particularly Queen Tiye, is obvious, notably in the physique. One characteristic of the relief depictions in the chapels at Medinet Habu, the Karnak chapels, and the statues is that Kushite God's Wives in the reign of Taharqo—Shepenwepet II and the posthumous Amenirdis I—are shown in conventional Egyptian form, with high narrow waists, rather than the ample figures of living Kushite queens, or the depictions of Amenirdis I in the chapel of Osiris Heqa-Djet.⁵⁶

In addition to the royal sculptures, there are many private monuments of the period. The numerous statues of Mentuemhat, mayor of Thebes, are among the most individual, and display New Kingdom influence as well as appropriation of royal models. A commonly used type was the block statue, which allowed ample space for the titles and genealogies favored by officials of the period. Squatting statues, with one raised and one folded leg, are another frequent type with a long history.⁵⁷

The reign of Taharqo saw extensive building work in the temples of Thebes. At Karnak, it is possible that the vast towers of the First Pylon were begun: if so, work was presumably abandoned following the Assyrian invasions. Adjacent to the quay, the ramps leading down to the harbor carry the king's names. Within the first court, the great central colonnade has columns on the same scale as those of the Hypostyle Hall. These new structures would have served for the processions of Amun in the Feast of the Valley.

At the eastern end of the temple, a structure of twenty columns with screen walls was placed in the court between the great East Gate of the temple and the pylon entrance to the Temple of the Hearing Ear. In this temple, a statue of the reigning king served as the intermediary between the people and Amun.

The Edifice of Taharqo was a two-level structure raised next to the Sacred Lake. Its upper level had a solar court, from which a stair led down to the subterranean rooms which clearly had a cultic connection with the rites performed in the temple at Medinet Habu. The building had a direct connection with the waters of the Sacred Lake, which themselves were affiliated with the creation rites associated with Amun here.⁵⁸

A number of small chapels dedicated to various forms of Osiris were constructed around the Amun complex. In these chapels, the earliest of which dates from the reign of Osorkon II, Amun was merged with Osiris. The God's Wife of Amun played a significant role in these chapels, which lined a road to the north east of the main temple, another leading directly north from it, and another east-west road to the north of the temple of Ptah (these were later absorbed into the precinct of the god Montu).

To the south of the main temple of Amun, Taharqo added another multi-columned portico to the temple of Khonsu. To the east of the processional route to the complex of the goddess Mut, a small chapel with very high quality relief sculpture was begun by Taharqo and completed by Tanwetamani. In recent years, a large quantity of evidence from the Kushite period has come from the Mut complex, which was extensively rebuilt during Taharqo's reign. A statue inscription of the Fourth Prophet Mentuemhat states that he was responsible for restorations in the temple of Mut, perhaps following the Assyrian sack of the city.

On the West Bank, a small pylon was added to the temple of Amun of Djeme at Medinet Habu. Excavation has shown that another colonnade was attached to this. The funerary chapel of Amenirdis I also dates from the reign.⁵⁹ Taking the form of a 'tent shrine,' the relief decoration depicts the God's Wife Shepenwepet II performing rites for her adopted mother, Amenirdis I. The images of the two women combine Kushite facial features with idealized slim bodies in the conventional Egyptian style. The reign of Taharqo also saw the beginning of the new elite necropolis in front the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir al-Bahari: the earliest tombs appear to be those of the Chief Steward of the God's Wife, Harwa, and the Fourth Prophet of Amun and mayor of Thebes, Mentuenhat. Construction there continued into the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.

Although we can describe the numerous building works of the Kushite kings in Thebes, the changes in the burial practices and the necropolis, and to some extent the festivals and cults, there are numerous questions remaining about the city during this period. We do not know what happened to the great landholdings of the 'mortuary' temples of the kings of the New Kingdom: were they absorbed into the domain of Amun? Similarly, there is little evidence for the continued statue cults of the deceased kings and their priesthoods. The increase in the number of priesthoods attached to the main cults, notably the various forms of Amun, Mut, Khonsu, and Montu, may have replaced earlier offices, with reallocation of land. The hereditary control and claims to office may even have seen land become effectively private. We do not know whether the population of the city declined during the Libyan period, and what effect the various political disturbances had on the people and buildings. Although there was extensive new building work, there must also have been many semi-ruined temples, especially on the West Bank. For a little over a century, under Kushite and early Saite rule, Thebes regained some of its former splendor and prestige, but following the Persian conquest in 525 BC, its importance effectively ceased.

Notes

- 1 The classic account is Kitchen's *Third Intermediate Period*, first published in 1973, and reissued with the main text unchanged, but with the addition of an Appendix, in 1986 (Kenneth A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100 BC–650 BC)* (Warminster: Aris and Phillips Ltd., 1986), and with a new introduction in 1996. Kitchen, "The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt: An Overview of Fact and Fiction,"

- in Gerard P.F. Broekman et al., *The Libyan Period in Egypt: Historical and Cultural Studies into the 21st-24th Dynasties. Proceedings of a Conference at Leiden University, 25–27 October 2007*, edited by G.P.F. Broekman, R.J. DemareÅLe, and O.E. Kaper (Leiden; Leuven: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten; Peeters, 2009), 161–202, is his most recent response to the many subsequent discussions. There have been numerous additions, corrections, and commentaries on Kitchen's original study; some of the most relevant ones are noted below. For the issues around the appearance of the Kushites in Thebes and Upper Egypt, see also Karl-Heinz Priebe, "Der Beginn der Kuschitischen Herrschaft in Ägypten," *ZÄS* 98 (1970): 16–32; Robert G. Morkot, *The Black Pharaohs: Egypt's Nubian Rulers* (London: Rubicon Press, 2000); Frédéric Payraudeau, "Le règne de Takélot III et les débuts de la domination koushite à Thèbes," *GM* 198 (2004): 79–90; and Gerard P.F. Broekman, "Takeloth III and the End of the 23rd Dynasty," in Gerard P.F. Broekman et al., *The Libyan Period in Egypt: Historical and Cultural Studies into the 21st-24th Dynasties. Proceedings of a Conference at Leiden University, 25–27 October 2007*, edited by G.P.F. Broekman, R.J. DemareÅLe, and O.E. Kaper (Leiden; Leuven: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten; Peeters, 2009), 99–201.
- 2 Grant Frame, "The Inscription of Sargon II at Tang-I Var," *Orientalia* 68 (1999): 31–57 and see, for example, David A. Aston, "Takeloth II, A King of the Herakleopolitan/Theban Twenty-third Dynasty Revisited: The Chronology of Dynasties 22 and 23," in Gerald P.F. Broekman et al., *The Libyan Period in Egypt*, 1–28. These misinterpretations are discussed at length by Kitchen, "The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt: An Overview of Fact and Fiction," in *The Libyan Period in Egypt: Historical and Cultural* 161–202.
 - 3 See David A. Aston and John H. Taylor, "The Family of Takeloth III and the 'Theban' Twenty-third Dynasty," in *Libya and Egypt c. 1300–750 BC*, ed. Anthony Leahy (London: SOAS Centre for Near and Middle Eastern Studies and the Society for Libyan Studies, 1990), and most recently Aston, "Takeloth II."
 - 4 Hermann Kees, *Die Hohenpriester des Amun von Karnak von Heribor bis zum Ende der Äthiopienzeit*. PÄ 4. (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1964); Günter Vittmann, *Priester und Beamte in Theben der Spätzeit. Genealogische und prosopographische Untersuchungen zum thebanischen Priester- und Beamtentum der 25 und 26. Dynastie*. Beiträge zur Ägyptologie 1 (Vienna: Veröffentlichungen der Institut für Afrikanistik und Ägyptologie der Universität, 1978).
 - 5 See Morkot, *The Black Pharaohs*, 157–66, for a full discussion of the evidence and issues; also Priebe, "Der Beginn der Kuschitischen Herrschaft."
 - 6 Cairo JdE 41013: Priebe, "Der Beginn der Kuschitischen Herrschaft," 16–17; Robert K. Ritner, *The Libyan Anarchy: Inscriptions from Egypt's Third Intermediate Period*, Writings from the Ancient World 21 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2009), 459; Jean Leclant, "Kashta, Pharaon, en Egypte," *ZÄS* 90 (1963): 74–81; Edna R. Russmann, "Egypt and the Kushites: Dynasty XXV," in *Africa and Africans in Antiquity*, ed. E.M. Yamauchi (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 2001), 113–31.
 - 7 Priebe, "Der Beginn der Kuschitischen Herrschaft," 16–18; Jean-Marie Kruchten, *Les annales des prêtres de Karnak (XXI–XXIII^{mes} Dynasties) et autres textes contemporains relatifs à l'initiation des prêtres d'Amon*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 32 (Leuven: Departement Oriëntalistiek, 1989), 126; Ritner, *The Libyan Anarchy*; presumably not accepted by Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100–650 B.C.)*, 1986 ed., 151, 581.

- 8 For the 'Theban/Herakleopolitan' theory, see Aston and Taylor, "The Family of Takeloth III," and most recently Aston, "Takeloth II"; for the purposes of this chapter, the issue—and very lengthy debate—is irrelevant.
- 9 Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100–650 B.C.)*, 1986 ed., 151. Macadam's theory, based on his reconstruction of the Kushite royal genealogy, was discussed in detail (and rejected) by Robert G. Morkot, "Kingship and Kinship in the Empire of Kush," in *Studien zum antiken Sudan: Akten der 7. Internationalen Tagung für meroitische Forschungen, vom 14. bis 19. September 1992 in Gosen/bei Berlin*, ed. Steffen Wenig (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1999), 179–229 and "Archaism and Innovation in Art from the New Kingdom to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty," in *'Never Had the Like Occurred': Egypt's View of Its Past*, ed. John Tait (London: UCL Press, 2003), 79–99. Macadam also used the analogy of the installation of four sisters as sistrum players by Anlamani (Kawa Stela VIII, Miles F. Laming Macadam, *The Temples of Kawa I. The Inscriptions* (London: Published on Behalf of The Griffith Institute Ashmolean Museum, Oxford by G. Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, 1949), 44–50); Taharqo states (Kawa Stela IV, ll.16–17, Macadam, *The Temples of Kawa. I.*, 16) that Alara similarly installed his sisters at Kawa.
- 10 For known instances and discussion, see Morkot, "Kingship and Kinship," 194–96; Ankhnesneferibre by her father Psamtik II, Anthony Leahy, "The Adoption of Ankhnesneferibre at Karnak," *JEA* 82 (1996): 145–65; Neitiqert by Psamtik I (Ricardo A. Caminos, "The Nitocris Adoption Stela," *JEA* 50 (1964): 71–101; Amenirdis II by Taharqo (Nitocris Adoption Stela, ll.3–4, Caminos, "The Nitocris Adoption Stela," 78–79 n.18); Shepenwepet II by Piye (Nitocris Adoption Stela, ll.15–16, Caminos, "The Nitocris Adoption Stela," n.18); Shepenwepet I by Osorkon III (Heqa-Djet chapel); Maatkare depicted with her father, Pinudjem I; Isis was installed by her father, Ramesses VI. See also discussions in Aidan Dodson, "The Problem of Amenirdis II and the Heirs to the Office of God's Wife of Amun during the Twenty-sixth Dynasty," *JEA* 88 (2002): 179–86 and Ayad in Mariam F. Ayad, *God's Wife, God's Servant: The God's Wife of Amun (ca. 740–525 BC)* (London, New York: Routledge, 2009), 15–21, 142–45.
- 11 For text, see, conveniently, Ritner, *The Libyan Anarchy*, 461–64 (143: Barkal Stele), 464–65 (144: fragments) with references; for discussion, see Morkot, *The Black Pharaohs*, 179–81.
- 12 For text, see Ritner, *The Libyan Anarchy*, 465–92 (145) with references; for discussion, Morkot, *The Black Pharaohs*, 181–96.
- 13 László Török, *The Kingdom of Kush: Handbook of the Napatan–Meroitic Civilization* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 153–66.
- 14 Caminos, "The Nitocris Adoption Stela"; for the history and chronology of the Kushite period, see Török, *The Kingdom of Kush*, 166–88; Karl Jansen-Winkeln, "The Chronology of the Third Intermediate Period: Dyns. 22–24," in Erik Hornung et al., *Ancient Egyptian Chronology*, 235–64; Karola Zibelius-Chen, "The Chronology of Nubian Kingdoms from Dyn. 25 to the End of the Kingdom of Meroe," in Hornung et al., *Ancient Egyptian Chronology*, 284–303.
- 15 For example, Edna R. Russmann, "Mentuemhat's Kushite Wife," *JARCE* 34 (1997): 21–39.

- 16 For the discussions on the history and chronology of the Libyan Period, see Anthony Leahy, "The Libyan Period in Egypt: An Essay in Interpretation," *Libyan Studies* 16 (1985), as well as Gerard P.F. Broekman et al., eds., *The Libyan Period in Egypt: Historical and Cultural Studies into the 21st–24th Dynasties: Proceedings of a Conference at Leiden University 25–27 October 2007* (Leuven: Peeters, 2009).
- 17 Kitchen, "The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt: An Overview."
- 18 Török, *The Kingdom of Kush*, 168.
- 19 The most recent study is Ayad, *God's Wife, God's Servant*.
- 20 For the New Kingdom God's Wives see Tamás B.ács, "A Note on the Divine Adoratrix Isis, Daughter of Ramesses VI," *GM* 148 (1995): 7–11; Jaroslav Černý, "Queen Ėse of the Twentieth Dynasty and Her Mother," *JEA* 44 (1958): 31–37; Rolf Krauss, "Isis," *LÄ* 3 (1980): 203–204.
- 21 For a discussion of celibacy in relation to this office, see Emily Teeter, "Celibacy and Adoption among God's Wives of Amun and Singers in the Temple of Amun: A Re-examination of the Evidence," in *Gold of Praise: Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honor of Edward F. Wente*, edited by Emily Teeter and John A. Larsen (Chicago: OIP, 1999), 405–15; Del Nord, "The Term *xmr*: 'Harem' or 'Musical Performers'?" in *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan: Essays in Honor of Dows Dunham on the Occasion of his 90th Birthday, June 1, 1980*, edited by William Kelly Simpson and Whitney M. Davis (Boston, MA: Museum of Fine Arts, 1981), 137–45.
- 22 Caminos, "The Nitocris Adoption Stela."
- 23 According to Ayad, Amenirdis I and Shepenwepet II were the first God's Wives of Amun to be represented receiving the *sed* symbols which means that they could have celebrated the *sed* festival. See Ayad, *God's Wife, God's Servant*, 110–15; Paul Barguet et al., *Karnak-Nord fouilles conduites par Cl. Robichon [Tome] 4, (1949–1951)* (Cairo: IFAO, 1954), 109–15.
- 24 Erhart Graefe, *Untersuchungen zur Verwaltung und Geschichte der Institutionen der Gottesgemahlin des Amun vom Beginn der Neuen Reiches bis zur Spätzeit*, Band 1: Katalog und Materialsammlung, Band 2: Analyse und Indices, *ÄA* 37 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1981), 47–60.
- 25 For the elite tombs of the Twenty-fifth to the Twenty-sixth Dynasties, see Dieter Eigner, *Die monumentalen Grabbauten der Spätzeit in der thebanischen Nekropole*, Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des österreichischen archäologischen Institutes 6 (Vienna: Verl. der Öster. Akad. der Wiss., 1984), 40–58; David Aston, *Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21–25: Chronology—Typology—Developments*, Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean 21. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie 54 (Vienna: Verl. der Öster. Akad. der Wiss., 2009), 411–16.
- 26 Anthony Leahy, "Kushite Monuments at Abydos," in *The Unbroken Reed: Studies in the Culture and Heritage of Ancient Egypt in Honour of A.F. Shore*, Occasional Publication 11, edited by Christopher Eyre et al. (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1994), 182–87.
- 27 Morkot, "Kingship and Kinship," 196–200; *The Black Pharaohs*, 301–302 argues for her return to Kush; see Dodson, "The Problem of Amenirdis II" for a full discussion.
- 28 Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100–650 B.C.)* (1996), 197.

- 29 Edna R. Russmann, *Egyptian Sculpture: Cairo and Luxor* (Austin TX: University of Texas Press, 1989), 178, fig 81. For Assyrian and Kushite eunuchs, see Morkot, *The Black Pharaohs*, 271, 272, 275.
- 30 Russmann, "Mentuemhat's Kushite Wife."
- 31 For the Kushite burials in the Theban necropolis, see David Aston, "The Theban West Bank from the Twenty-fifth Dynasty to the Ptolemaic Period," in *The Theban Necropolis: Past, Present and Future*, edited by Nigel Strudwick and John H. Taylor (London: The British Museum Press, 2003), 138–49.
- 32 Leahy, "Kushite Monuments at Abydos."
- 33 For the religious Kushite monuments and archaism, see Richard A. Fazzini, *Egypt: Dynasty XXII–XXV. Iconography of Religions*, Section 16: Egypt, 10. Institute of Religious Iconography, State University of Groningen (Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1988); Török, *The Kingdom of Kush*, 189–342.
- 34 Nancy K. Thomas, "A Typological Study of Saite Tombs at Thebes" (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1980).
- 35 For the discussion of the Kushite archaism and a bibliography on the subject, see Francesco Tiradritti, ed., *Pharaonic Renaissance: Archaism and the Sense of History* (Ljubljana: Cankarjev dom, kulturni in kongresni center, 2008).
- 36 Jean Leclant, *Enquêtes sur les sacerdoces et les sanctuaires égyptiens à l'époque dite «éthiopiennes» (XXV^e Dynastie)*, BdE 17 (Cairo: IFAO, 1954), *Montouemhat: quatrième prophète d'Amon, Prince de la ville*, BdE 35 (Cairo: IFAO, 1961); Cynthia M. Sheikholeslami, "The End of the Libyan Period and the Resurgence of the Cult of Montu," in Gerard P.F. Broekman et al., *The Libyan Period in Egypt*; Nord, "The Term *xmr*: 'Harem' or 'Musical Performers'?"
- 37 Richard A. Parker, Jean Leclant, Jean-Claude Goyon, with translations from Claude Crozier-Brelot, *The Edifice of Tabarka by the Sacred Lake of Karnak*, Brown Egyptological Studies 8 (Providence, RI: Brown University Press, 1979).
- 38 The main catalogue of the building works is Jean Leclant, *Recherches sur les monuments thébains de la XXV^e dynastie dite Éthiopienne*, BdE 36 (Cairo: IFAO, 1965); of funerary monuments, Eigner, *Die monumentalen Grabbauten der Spätzeit*.
- 39 For some of the issues, see Helmut Brandl, "Bemerkungen zur Datierung von libyerzeitlichen Statuen aufgrund stilistischer Kriterien," in Gerard P.F. Broekman et al., *The Libyan Period in Egypt*, 57–89; also, Jack A. Josephson and Mamdouh Eldamaty, *Statues of the XXVth and XXVIth Dynasties. Catalogue Général of Egyptian Antiquities in the Cairo Museum Nrs. 48601–48649* (Cairo: The Supreme Council of Antiquities Press, 1999).
- 40 See Karol Myśliwiec, *Royal Portraiture of the Dynasties XXI–XXX* (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1988), pl.XXVa.
- 41 Mariam F. Ayad, "The Transition from Libyan to Nubian Rule: The Role of the God's Wife of Amun," in Gerald P.F. Broekman et al., *The Libyan Period in Egypt*, 29–49.
- 42 For the Osirian chapels at Karnak, see Jean Leclant, "Osiris *p3-wšb-ỉ3d*," in *Ägyptologische Studien: Hermann Grapow zum 70. Geburtstag gewidmet*, edited by O. Firkow (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1955), 197–204; Donald B. Redford, "An Interim Report on the Second Season of Work at the Temple of Osiris, Ruler of Eternity, Karnak," *JEA* 59 (1973): 16–30, "New Light on Temple J at Karnak," *Orientalia* 55 (1986); Renee

- Adolphe Schwaller de Lubicz, *Les temples de Karnak. Contribution à l'étude de la pensée pharaonique* (Paris: Dervy-Livres, 1982).
- 43 Louvre C100; Morkot, *The Black Pharaohs*, 186–87, 313 n.5; Jean Yoyotte, “Pharaon Iny. Un roi mystérieux du VIII^e siècle avant J.-C.,” *RdE* 40 (1989) attributes this monument to a local Theban ruler ‘Iny’ and has been followed by many more recent writers.
 - 44 For lists of Kushite monuments in Egypt and Kush, see Török, *The Kingdom of Kush*, 136 for Alara and Kashta, 136–37 for Piye, 137–38 for Shabaqo, 138–39 for Shebitqo, 139–42 for Taharqo; Dieter Arnold, *Temples of the Last Pharaohs* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).
 - 45 Jean Jacquet, “Medinet Habou et les additions tardives à l’est du temple de la XVIII^e dynastie,” *CdE* 81 (2008): 17–24.
 - 46 Myśliwiec, *Royal Portraiture*, pl. XXXII, a–b.
 - 47 Myśliwiec, *Royal Portraiture*, pls. XXVIII–XXIX.
 - 48 Jean Leclant and Gisèle Clerc, “Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan, 1985–1986,” *Orientalia* 56 (1987): 349 no.71a, Tab XLIII–XLV figs. 56–59.
 - 49 Leclant, *Recherches sur les monuments thébains*, 47–54, §12 with older bibliography, 49; Myśliwiec, *Royal Portraiture*, pls. XXVII, XXXIV, XXXVb.
 - 50 Leclant, *Recherches sur les monuments thébains*, 59–61 §16; Myśliwiec, *Royal Portraiture*, pl XXXb.
 - 51 See Peter der Manuelian, *Living in the Past: Studies in Archaism of the Egyptian Twenty-sixth Dynasty* (London: Kegan Paul International, 1994); Morkot, “Archaism and Innovation in Art,” 79–99, “A Kushite Royal Woman, Perhaps a God’s Wife of Amun,” in *Egyptian Art in the Nicholson Museum, Sydney*, edited by Karin N. Sowada and Boyo G. Ockinga (Sydney: Mediterranean Archaeology, 2006), 147–58, “Tradition, Innovation, and Researching the Past in Libyan, Kushite, and Saïte Egypt,” in *Regime Change in the Ancient Near East and Egypt from Sargon of Agade to Saddam Hussein*, edited by Harriet E.W. Crawford. Proceedings of the British Academy 136 (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 141–64; Frédéric Payraudeau, “Les prémices du mouvement archaïsant à Thèbes et la statue Caire JE 37382 du quatrième prophète Djedkhonsouiefânkh,” *BIFAO* 107 (2007): 141–56.
 - 52 Robert G. Morkot and Peter J. James, “Peftjauawybast, King of Nén-nesut: Genealogy, Art History, and the Chronology of Late-Libyan Egypt,” *Antiquo Oriente* 7 (2009): 13–55.
 - 53 Morkot, “Tradition, Innovation, and Researching the past”; Charles Bonnet and Dominique Valbelle, *The Nubian Pharaohs: Black Kings on the Nile* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2006).
 - 54 *Christie’s Sale Catalogue*, Fine Antiquities, 2 December 1991 (London: Christie, Manson and Woods, Ltd), Lot 99/Sale 4667.
 - 55 Karen Wardley and W. Vivian Davies, “A New Statue of the Kushite Period,” *Sudan and Nubia* 3 (1999), 28–30.
 - 56 Uvo Hölscher, *The Excavations of Medinet Habu. Volume 5: The Post-Ramesside Remains*, Oriental Institute Publications 66 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954); Mariam F. Ayad, “The Funerary Texts of Amenirdis I: Analysis of Their Layout and Purpose” (PhD diss., Brown University, 2003).

- 57 There are many examples in Josephson and Eldamaty, *Statues of the XXVth and XXVIth Dynasties*.
- 58 Parker, Leclant, and Goyon, *The Edifice of Tabarka*.
- 59 Mariam F. Ayad, "Re-figuring the Past: The Architecture of the Funerary Chapel of Amenirdis I at Medinet Habu, a Re-assessment," in *Perspectives on Ancient Egypt: Studies in Honor of Edward Brovarski*, edited by Zahi A. Hawass et al. (Cairo: Supreme Council of Antiquities, 2010), 53–64; "Some Remarks on the Pyramid Texts Inscribed in the Chapel of Amenirdis I at Medinet Habu," in *Egypt and Beyond: Essays Presented to Leonard H. Lesko upon his Retirement from the Wilbour Chair of Egyptology at Brown University June 2005*, edited by Stephen E. Thompson and Peter der Manuelian (Providence, RI: Brown University, 2008), 1–13.

2

Royal Sculpture at the Onset of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty

Jack A. Josephson

Art historians are generally able to attribute uninscribed or unprovenanced ancient Egyptian sculpture with reasonable accuracy by comparing their stylistic characteristics with objects having archaeological contexts or inscriptions. Often subtle, these individualistic traits vary enough through time to make this task possible. Particularly in the Late Period, this task is often complicated by two politically motivated factors: archaism and usurpation.¹ In this brief study, a small three-dimensional head, which I believe dates to the beginning of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, will serve to illustrate the process of ascribing an object to a narrow window of time, and even naming its subject. In this case, the comparison is made with an inscribed relief representation.

While the precise date of the commencement of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty is unknown,² Kashta (c. 760–47 BC) is generally acknowledged to be the first Kushite king to invade Egypt, although his incursions in the middle of the eighth century BC are usually thought to be isolated raids and not a full-scale invasion.³ The latter occurred a few decades later (c. 737 BC) when his son and successor, Piye (or Piankhy) (c. 747–716 BC),⁴ subjugated this once great empire, reversing the roles played by the two states since the Old Kingdom, when Nubia was periodically a vassal of Egypt and systematically stripped of desirable raw materials. Egypt's capitulation to Piye marked the end of the Third Intermediate Period, a time when the divided country was ruled by a profusion of kings in Upper and Lower Egypt, the latter being separated into smaller states where minor kings, or dynasts, reigned. This schism weakened the former empire to the point where it became comparatively defenseless to a determined and cohesive enemy whose avowed reason for the invasion was to restore religious orthodoxy to the land, although Egypt's wealth may have been a stronger inducement. Despite the instability in Egypt in the Third Intermediate



Figs. 2.1–2.3. Royal head. *Photo Jack Josephson*

Period, and unlike the First and Second Intermediate Periods, art flourished, generally inspired by New Kingdom traditions, and metalwork particularly reached new heights of mastery.⁵ This set the stage for the establishment of newly established artistic styles determined by the Nubian rulers.

One of the three Delta dynasts depicted submitting to Piye in a scene on the lunette of his victory stele from Gebel Barkal⁶ was a little-known ruler named Iuput II (c. 731–715 bc)⁷ whose images play an important role in determining the development of a sculptural style that dominated the ensuing fifty years of Kushite rule. Iuput's reign was partly contemporaneous with Piye, who had returned to Nubia after his successful campaign, choosing not to reside in his new province. He left administrators in Upper Egypt and at least some of the kinglets of Lower Egypt in place as his surrogates, allowing Iuput and a few others to continue as before, including having their images produced in various media. One such object is the principal topic of this study and serves to illustrate how quickly the new rulers imposed their preferences on the artistic process.

In the late 1980s, an intact, superbly carved, small (H. 4.02 cm), pure white, hard limestone royal head came to my attention (figs. 2.1–2.3). Bernard V. Bothmer immediately identified it as a king of the late Third Intermediate Period,⁸ and it was subsequently published by Richard Fazzini,⁹ who recognized that it was from a prostrate figure, perhaps holding a votive object in his outstretched arms, noting the manner in which the ribbons attached to the rear of the smooth cap crown flare out horizontally.¹⁰ The front of the voluminous helmet is dominated by a large, intact, intricately carved double-loop uraeus and a finely fashioned, banded frontlet. This comparatively unusual crown first appeared in the Thirteenth Dynasty and is documented from then until the end of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty.¹¹ It was the preferred, but not exclusive, headdress of the Kushite kings, although its use apparently vanished during the ensuing dynasties. The features of the youthful but fleshy face suggest

that it was a highly individualistic portrait, with a distinctive, slightly hooked, narrow nose and ears of an unusual configuration, in which the lobes are pointed unnaturally toward the front of the face; otherwise, it is well-detailed and anatomically correct. The short, thick-lipped, and unsmiling mouth is outlined by a 'vermillion line,' a finely engraved indentation usually reserved for the highest quality sculptures from elite ateliers.¹² The almond-shaped eyes are bordered by plastically carved upper and lower rims and surmounted by natural eyebrows. Although the face bears a resemblance to the realistic treatment of late Twelfth Dynasty representations, it lacks one usual characteristic from that period, the 'Kushite folds,' or prominent furrows of flesh descending from the sides of the nose down the cheeks. This term was also coined by Bothmer to describe a trait often noted on Twenty-fifth Dynasty portraiture,¹³ but which actually originated in the late Twelfth Dynasty.¹⁴ The head suggests a man with a strong personality and access to an unusually fine workshop. Despite its size, it appears in photographs to be from a much larger statue.

Since it had no archaeological context (it is claimed to have been found in Tanis, but this statement cannot be confirmed) and is uninscribed, it seemed unlikely that it could be identified, but, fortunately, a well-preserved, inscribed, faience plaque, perhaps part of a shrine decoration, in the Brooklyn Museum bearing the name of Iuput II is well known (figs. 2.4 and 2.5).¹⁵ It depicts the king standing in profile, wearing a cap crown with a prominent uraeus and clad in a short kilt. His heavily featured, round face with a small, deep-set eye is highly individualistic; the distinctively shaped nose and forward slanted ear lobe look quite identical to the limestone head. For many years, it was assumed to be one of two surviving portraits of Iuput II (both faience plaques),¹⁶ but I believe it obvious that the Brooklyn plaque and the head represent the same man, and one was likely to have been copied from the other,



Figs. 2.4–2.5. Iuput II plaque. Brooklyn, The Brooklyn Museum, Charles Edwin Wilbur Fund, 59.17, 29. 3. *Photo Jack Josephson*

although it is possible that both images are simply accurate portrayals of their subject. Fazzini conservatively dated the head to a rather wide range of time, spanning the early Third Intermediate Period to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.

While mentioning the Iuput portrait in Brooklyn, he did not draw what appears to me the obvious conclusion that they represent the same man, a comparatively rare example of total correspondence between two- and three-dimensional representations. Both images are quite different from the conventions of the Third Intermediate Period, whose sculpture was influenced by the idealizing features depicted on New Kingdom images. The likenesses of Iuput II, with their heavy, realistic features, archaize from Middle Kingdom examples, and since they undoubtedly date to the time of Piye the royal head in question is the earliest known three-dimensional Kushite portrait.

The earliest king of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty whose three-dimensional portraits have survived is Shabaqo (c. 715–703 bc), Piye's presumed younger brother and successor.¹⁷ He erected a considerable number of monuments throughout Egypt and resided in Memphis, thus becoming the first king of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty to actually live in the conquered state. Edna R. Russmann published a catalogue of Kushite royal images, including the five then-known statues of Shabaqo.¹⁸ His three-dimensional stone representations, while not nearly as well-carved as that of Iuput, share the heavy features and lack the prominent 'Kushite folds' seen on many private sculptures and the later statues of Taharqo.¹⁹ Perhaps the finest example of Shabaqo's image is a finely cast, kneeling bronze statuette in Athens, recalling the extraordinary creativity of Third Intermediate Period bronzes.²⁰ The numerous characteristics of this depiction associated with the Twenty-fifth Dynasty include a cap crown with a double uraeus, a cord around the neck with three ram-headed amulets, and a fleshy face with a small mouth and almond-shaped eyes without cosmetic lines. While it is doubtful that the Iuput head influenced the artist who made the bronze, they certainly display a stylistic resemblance.

There is little doubt that the new masters of Egypt, as they avowed, were deeply religious and devoted to the memories of the great pharaohs of the Old, Middle, and New Kingdoms. This is obvious from their architecture and two- and three-dimensional representations in tombs and temples. Sculpture in the round followed the stylistic conventions of the Middle Kingdom particularly closely, including 'Kushite folds' and fleshy faces with heavy features, while relief representations displayed a wider variety of archaism from the three great periods of ancient Egypt. There is still considerable confusion in dating uninscribed portraiture from the Twelfth and Twenty-fifth Dynasties, and at least one private statue of the earlier dynasty was usurped and reinscribed for a new owner in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty.²¹

Although the time of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty was comparatively brief—only about fifty years—it was the beginning of the Late Period, an important time in Egypt's history; an era often denigrated and largely disregarded by scholars.²² It marked the commencement of artistic influence by various foreign civilizations on

Egypt, and vice versa. After the Nubians came the Assyrians, who ejected them from Egypt, followed by Greek mercenaries who fought for Psamtik I in his battle to reunite the empire as the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. This led to trading between the two cultures and the early development of sculptural art in Greece as seen by *kouros*, a sculptural form mimicking classic Egyptian poses. Later, Hellenistic portraiture appeared in Egypt as a major influence in the Thirtieth Dynasty²³ when Nectanebo I welcomed these foreigners to Memphis.²⁴

Hopefully, this chapter will serve to demonstrate the importance of art history in Egyptology. Too often it is considered to be subjective and greatly subordinate to philology. There is no question about the importance of the written language, but in ancient Egypt much of it is propaganda and non-factual. It is also subject to usurpation and misinterpretation, leaving art as a principal part of the surviving record of a great civilization.

Notes

- 1 For more on archaism, see Jack A. Josephson, "Archaism," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, Vol. 1, edited by Donald Redford (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 109–13.
- 2 For example, Kenneth A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100–650 B.C.) with Supplement* (Warminster: Aris and Phillips Ltd., 1996), 378, infers that Shabaqo (716–702 BC) was the first pharaoh of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, perhaps because he was the first Nubian king to maintain residence in Egypt. Kitchen also calls attention to Manetho's kings list, which omits both Kashta and Piye.
- 3 Robert G. Morkot, *The Black Pharaohs: Egypt's Nubian Rulers* (London: Rubicon Press, 2000), 159 ff., argues that Kashta conquered Upper Egypt, conducted monument building, and appointed various officials, making him the first ruler of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. In this reference, I see no evidence cited of his monument building.
- 4 The length of his reign has been estimated from as few as twenty-four to as many as forty years. See Morkot, *The Black Pharaohs*, 170.
- 5 Two superb examples from this time are the divine adoratrix Karomama, Paris, Louvre N 500, bronze, H. 59 cm: *The Louvre: Egyptian Antiquities*, edited by Christiane Ziegler et al. (London: Scala Books, 1990), 71, illus., and a gold figure of Amun, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 26. 71412, H. 17.5 cm: *Gifts for the Gods: Images from Egyptian Temples*, edited by Marsha Hill and Deborah Schorsch (New Haven, CT; London, New York: Yale University Press; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2007), 84–87.
- 6 See Morkot, *The Black Pharaohs*, 167–70.
- 7 For dates of Iuput II, see Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100–650 B.C.)*, 467, table 3.
- 8 In a personal communication, in the late 1980s.
- 9 Richard A. Fazzini, "Several Objects, and Some Aspects of the Art of the Third Intermediate Period," in *Chief of Seers, Egyptian Studies in Memory of Cyril Aldred*, edited by Elizabeth Goring et al. (New York: Kegan Paul International, 1997), 113–37.
- 10 Fazzini, "Several Objects," 18.

- 11 See W. Vivian Davies, "The Origin of the Blue Crown," *JEA* 68 (1982): 71–72.
- 12 Bernard V. Bothmer, "The Block Statue of Ankh-khonsu in Boston and Cairo," *MDAIK* 37 (1981): 77, n. 15.
- 13 In Elisabeth Riefstahl, ed., *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period 700 B.C. to A.D. 100*. (Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum, 1960), 1.
- 14 For examples, see the standing statue of Sesostris I, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, wood, H. 23 inches: William C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt: Background for the Study of the Egyptian Antiquities in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, Part 1: From the Earliest Times to the End of the Middle Kingdom (New York: Harper & Brothers in co-operation with the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1953), 192, fig. 117; even more pronounced folds are seen on the face of Sesostris II in Cairo, CG 432, granite, H. 265 cm: Hans G. Evers, *Staat aus dem Stein: Denkmäler, Geschichte und Bedeutung der ägyptischen Plastik während des Mittleren Reichs* (München: Bruckmann, 1929), pl. 65.
- 15 Brooklyn, The Brooklyn Museum, Charles Edwin Wilbour Fund, 59.17, 29.3 x 15.9 cm; Richard A. Fazzini et al., *Art for Eternity: Masterworks from Ancient Egypt* (New York: Brooklyn Museum of Arts in association with Scala Publishers, 1999), 121, no. 71.
- 16 Morkot mentions a second faience plaque in *The Black Pharaohs*, 191, but does not offer its present location.
- 17 See Morkot, *The Black Pharaohs*, 205.
- 18 Edna R. Russman, *The Representation of the King in the XXVth Dynasty* (Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum, 1974), 45–46. One of the five examples (CG 42010), as Russmann notes, is a usurped head from the New Kingdom.
- 19 Russman, *The Representation of the King*, figs. 11, 14, 15, 22.
- 20 Athens, National Museum ANE 632; Russmann, *The Representation of the King*, fig. 1.
- 21 See Jack A. Josephson, "Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period Revisited," *JARCE* 34 (1997): figs. 3–4.
- 22 Some scholars include the Third Intermediate Period in the Late Period, an assessment the majority of Egyptologists disagree with.
- 23 For examples of this effect, see Jack Josephson et al., "The Doha Head: A Late Period Egyptian Portrait," *MDAIK* 61 (2005): 235–38.
- 24 See Jack Josephson, "Nektanebo," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* Vol. 2, edited by Donald Redford (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 517–18.

The South Asasif Necropolis

3

The History of the South Asasif Necropolis and Its Exploration

Elena Pischikova

Dating the South Asasif Necropolis

It is not the goal of this publication to participate in the discussion on the dating issues related to the Third Intermediate Period and the Kushite dynasty in particular. A lot of research published on the subject lately gives a much better foundation for our understanding of the period, but some issues, including the length of certain reigns, still remain questionable and need more evidence to become conclusive.¹ The present project utilizes the newest research while taking into consideration its debatable nature.²

As the dating of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty still remains questionable, it affects the timeline for Theban high officials as well. Similar to some undocumented years for Kushite kings, the activities of Kushite officials in Egypt in many cases do not have reliable documentation. The amount of new information uncovered by the project and partially included in this publication will add to the discussion of the Kushite officials, their titles, and their years of activity in Thebes. As little as is known about Karabasken and Karakhamun, their importance for the history of the period is unquestionable.³

Our information on Karabasken remains very limited, with no information on his parents or relatives.⁴ What is written so far on Karabasken remains mostly unsupported. Kitchen places Karabasken under Piye and Shabako “perhaps as successor to the last Djed-Khons-ef-ankh (D) of the Nakhtefmut family” and starts his time in office around 725 bc.⁵ Vittmann, in his chronology of the Fourth Priests of Amun, places Karabasken after Wedjahor and before Mentuemhat A.⁶ Bierbrier, reviewing Vittmann, argues for an early Twenty-fifth Dynasty date for Karabasken, suggesting the option of two more bearers of the title separating Karabasken from Mentuemhat.⁷ Strudwick discusses the possibility of Karabasken being in office before Wedjahor, in

The goal of the present research is not to attach certain dates to the Theban Kushite officials and their tombs, which would be near impossible, but rather to determine the places of their owners within the span of Kushite rule. More specifically, it is to determine the places of their tombs within the development of Kushite private tombs and to reach a better understanding of the position and life of their owners through the tombs. It seems that the tomb as a complex source of information remains underestimated by many scholars. Lack of information on traceable family connections or links to the royal family is usually seen as an irreparable gap in our knowledge. However, it can be compensated for by the indirect information derived from a tomb's location, exact position in a necropolis, neighboring tombs, state of completion, architecture, and decorative program. These may all provide a richer source of information than a more direct reference.

The process of dating private tombs often has its own problems, due to the preservation of the tombs, the degree of their archaeological exploration, and the availability of information on other tombs of the same necropolis and time period. There are numerous cases of reusage and therefore intentional damages and rewritings. Even if the royal name is mentioned, the question remains as to what part of the reign the tomb should be dated, or whether the name is mentioned commemoratively or added later. Therefore, a tomb produces very sensitive data, and the precise dating of a large number of tombs belonging to different periods remains under discussion, with individual scholars having disparate opinions on the subject due to the inconclusive nature of the evidence.

Harpur gives a list of twenty-three dating criteria for Old Kingdom tombs and uses even more in tomb descriptions.¹⁵ One could think that the immense body of available material would allow Old Kingdom scholars to narrow down the dates for private tombs to a dynasty, reign, or even a decade within a reign. Yet the suggested dates for many tombs range across two dynasties.¹⁶

Precise tomb dating within the Kushite period proves to be even more difficult. With the limited number of known tombs and the even smaller number of explored and published ones, dating for many of them remains questionable. Furthermore, nobody has tried to apply a set of all available dating criteria to this body of material, because it has not been developed and lack of information on many monuments would make it difficult to apply. As the chronology of the whole period is a battlefield of numerous opinions, it is practically impossible to place the tombs within the reigns of the dynasty and suggest dates with any certainty. Although the present research is not aimed at solving all these problems and linking the Kushite private tombs with precise dates, the amount of archaeological work going on in Theban Kushite sites makes it possible to start working on a set of dating criteria for Kushite private tombs and imagery. Historians may never develop a unified approach to the chronology of the period; nevertheless, it is possible to trace the developments and innovations of certain characteristic features within the monuments themselves and list them based on their place in the development of the necropolises of the time period.

The suggested list of criteria (below) is based on Harpur's list, which can be considered universal for Egyptian tombs of any period, and has been modified with some additional criteria specific to the Kushite period.¹⁷

1. Location: site, necropolis (H1)
2. Orientation within the necropolis: relation to other tombs, construction issues related to neighboring tombs, orientation toward certain causeways and monuments, blocking causeways and entrances of other tombs (H2)
3. Placement regarding geology of the site: choice of a position that features bed-rock of a certain quality, based on the choices and experience of earlier builders
4. Tomb architecture: size, construction, plan, architectural features (H3)
5. Textual program
6. Decoration of the tomb: techniques, style, iconography, scene content (H8, 9)
7. Decoration of the burial chamber (H10)
8. Archaism and its character: time period of the patterns, reference to certain monuments if possible, inspirational styles and features
9. Innovative usage of traditional architectural or decorative elements
10. Innovative features of the tomb and its decoration which may be attributed to the period
11. Development and reuse of specific titles and their sequence (H13, 14)
12. Type of false door (H 7)
13. Paleography
14. Individual styles of certain carvers or groups of carvers traceable within the necropolis
15. Inner necropolis tradition: reuse of scenes, texts, innovative features
16. References to known family members or officials of the time (H22)
17. Burial content datable to the original burial
18. Traceable and datable history of the reuse of the tomb

Most of the dating criteria listed above are covered in various chapters of this book, where team members analyze various features of the site of South Asasif. The collective opinion of the project so far is that the tombs of Karakhamun and Karabasken are datable to the first half of the Kushite dynasty.

The South Asasif Necropolis within the Theban Sacred Landscape

The architectural development of the Late Period Theban necropolis is a subject well explored by Eigner¹⁸ and Aston.¹⁹ Analyzing the situation in the Theban necropolis after the end of the New Kingdom, Aston notes that the tradition of constructing rock-cut tombs was abandoned during the late eleventh century BC.²⁰ The tombs of the Third Intermediate Period are not numerous, which may relate to a change in burial customs.²¹ The time and type line Aston offers for the private tombs of



Fig. 3.2. Aerial view of the South Asasif necropolis. *Photo Gwyn Ashworth-Pratt, SACP*

the Third Intermediate Period is reusage of earlier tombs in the early eleventh and early tenth centuries BC, with the new Thebes I type, comprised of simple niche chapels, appearing during the late tenth century behind the Ramesseum. Thebes II and Thebes III types continued to be constructed till the end of the Third Intermediate Period in Asasif and Dra Abu al-Naga. They consist of a pylon entrance leading to a vaulted chamber. Thebes IV develops at the end of the eighth and the beginning of the seventh centuries BC. These tombs are elongated, with the entrance pylon leading to a court, and usually a small staircase leading to either a narrow second court or a vaulted chamber, substituting a hypostyle hall, with three cult chapels behind, each having its own tomb shaft. As such, these new tombs resemble a simple cult temple. Thebes IV have been found mostly behind the Ramesseum, the temple of Amenhotep III, and the temple of Ramesses III.²²

A new type of private tomb, Thebes V, features entrance pylons, large courts, and shrines. “The earliest of these were made for Karabaskhen, TT 391, and Karachamun, TT 223, people of distinctly Nubian origin.”²³ Aston suggests that these tombs were structures unifying earlier types and yet introducing new elements

whilst, during the reign of Taharqa, the tomb of Harwa, TT 37, was begun. This marks a distinct break with what went before, and can really be called the first of the large Saite ‘temple’ tombs, which were to dominate Asasif during the next hundred years. The typical tomb of this type, in its most complete



Fig. 3.3. Tombs of South Asasif.
Photo Katherine Blakeney, SACP

aspect, comprises a mud-brick entrance pylon in which were set funerary cones, a large forecourt, a second forecourt, leading to the subterranean parts consisting of a pillared hall or cult room with subsidiary rooms, a smaller square pillared hall, all decorated in relief, and burial chambers. The entire tomb would have been surrounded by a large mudbrick wall with typical palace façade moulding, and there was probably a small pyramid.²⁴

Therefore, the first monumental decorated Kushite tomb of the ‘Thebes V’ type was built by the mayor of Thebes, Karabasken, who chose the valley to the south of Qurna (fig. 3.3). His tomb is the most western in the necropolis; the later tomb of Karakhamun is located more to the east, with the tombs of Ramose (TT 132) and Irtieru (TT390) following the same direction. It seems that the west–east axis for the South Asasif necropolis has a geological explanation. The tomb of Karakhamun features the worst quality limestone in the area. Based on the depth of the underground chambers of the South Asasif tombs, the quality of local limestone improves from west to east. The decoration of the entrance to the Pillared Hall in the tomb of Karabasken shows a lot of original patchwork, illustrating the fact that the tomb’s coarse, sandy limestone, with sizable clay inclusions, made a weak surface, unsuitable for carving and decorating from the outset of the process. The weakest sections were

removed and replaced with stronger slabs attached with lime mortar. Located only slightly to the east, the tomb of Karakhamun reveals much denser limestone that allowed precise, detailed carving. The tomb of Irtieru, the easternmost along the same axis, demonstrates the best stability in the necropolis. Therefore, the statement that Karabasken is the first monumental Kushite tomb on the West Bank is supported by the position of the tomb. With the west–east axis of the South Asasif necropolis and the south–north axis established by Aston for the Late Period Theban necropolis in general, the tomb of Karabasken, with the most southwesterly location out of the monumental private tombs of the period, starts a new stylistic trend in the tomb development of the Kushite–Saite period.²⁶

The chronology of the South Asasif necropolis is also supported by the architectural development of the tombs in the area. Karabasken (TT 391) shows the most basic structure out of all known Kushite tombs: one east–west axis, entrance on the east side of the court, no porticos in the court (presumably), one pillared hall. Karakhamun (TT 223) shows the next step in the architectural development. It has the same east–west axis, entrance on the east side through a vestibule, court with pilasters (rudimentary pillared porticos), and two pillared halls. Harwa (TT 37) of the time of Taharqo is the first Twenty-fifth Dynasty tomb that offers an elaboration of this plan, making a transition to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty type featuring a bent axis and introducing a colonnaded portico in the court, which in South Asasif appears in the tomb of Irtieru of the early Twenty-sixth Dynasty.²⁶

The choice of the tomb location made by Karabasken could have been affected by the earlier monuments in the immediate neighborhood and/or the relationship of the site to the temples of the East Bank, taking into consideration the sacred landscape of the time, as it was seen by the Kushites. As the tomb of Karabasken was the first monumental decorated tomb of a new type, which could not be clustered behind the Ramesseum, he had to justify his choice of location for a new necropolis. His choice clearly had merits and was supported by Karakhamun.

Karabasken and Karakhamun are the personalities behind the revival of large decorated tombs in the Theban area. The decision and choices they made influenced tomb development for a few generations to come. They interpreted and altered the sacred landscape of the West Bank. Most probably Karabasken also supervised Shabaqo's restoration and temple building projects.²⁷ The personal impact of the Kushite and Saite high officials on the Theban sacred landscape and funerary monuments of the time was tremendous. The Kushite Renaissance was highly influenced by personal choices and preferences, because reviving the past involved studying earlier monuments, making selections, interpreting ancient imagery and literature, and adjusting them to new ideas. New funerary complexes definitely reflected contemporary views of the divine, death, the afterlife, and the beautiful. At the same time, they were all based on references to the past. Revisited and reinterpreted by the Kushites, the references used in the new complexes 'melt together' into a new religious and philosophical entity.

The type of strong intellectual figure (not an artist) capable of making independent decisions and personal contributions to the contemporary sacred landscape is already well recorded in Ramesside times.²⁸ Concerning the example of Khaemwese, fourth son of Ramesses II who was active in the Memphite region and made an individual contribution to the manipulation of monumental landscapes of the early Ramesside period, Snape discusses the idea of a “personal, individualized relationship with the past.”²⁹ Khaemwese played a leading role in the major program of building new monuments and remodeling old ones at Memphis, including the Memphite necropolis.³⁰ The practice of choosing earlier monuments, including Old Kingdom ones, and labeling them to create a sight line connecting the contemporary and the ancient reflects the idea of “constructing an identity through (wishful) association with ‘ancestors.’”³¹ “The colossi of the king might therefore have been seen as having the kingship of Ramesses II himself affirmed through their connection to the pyramids of the Old Kingdom rulers.”³²

Kushite personalities show a similar determination to reconnect with the past on an individualized level and remodel the sacred landscape inherited from the New Kingdom and the Libyan period. The development of the Theban sacred landscape during the New Kingdom is well researched, as it was fully developed within its complex architectural and ritual structure with numerous cult buildings linked together theologically and ritually. What highlighted these connections and emphasized the religious concepts behind the choices of location for the tombs and temples of the West Bank were regular festivals and festival processions.³³

The location of the first monumental tombs shows a clear connection with the area of earlier Kushite tombs, between the Ramesseum and Medinet Habu.³⁴ They are all east–west oriented with entrances from the east “with the traditional view toward Karnak and the rising sun.”³⁵ Eigner also stresses the layout of the tombs of South Asasif along the causeway of the unfinished temple of Mentuhotep Siankhkare, developing from west to east, and their closeness to the Twenty-second and Twenty-third Dynasty necropolis.³⁶

The choice of Harwa, Mentuemhat, and later most influential officials of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty to build their tombs in the North Asasif necropolis, in front of the temple of Hatshepsut, looks like an obvious choice in view of “the increase in importance of the Festival of the Valley at this time.”³⁷ The processional way of the Beautiful Festival of the Valley leads to Deir al-Bahari along the causeway of the temple of Hatshepsut. The Twenty-fifth to Twenty-sixth Dynasty tombs of North Asasif surrender the eastern orientation in favor of placing the entrances in alignment with the processional way and the bark station built on the temple causeway.³⁸ If we accept the suggestion that Karabasken could have been an overseer of the restoration and building work of Shabaqo at Karnak, the alignment with Karnak could have been of a special importance.³⁹ Building and restoration work in the Amun temple and Osiris chapels illustrate the theological concept of the time reflected in private tombs. The most completed decoration of the tomb of Karakhamun presents

its space as a solar temple with Osiris and Ra, combined in the same alliance.⁴⁰ In view of the theological ideas developed in the tombs of Karabasken, Karakhamun, and Ramose, there is a strong possibility that the area to the south of Qurna could be seen as better connected with the solar cult landscape.

The most explicit illustration of the Kushite theological concept is the architecture and decoration of the Edifice of Taharqo by the Sacred Lake at Karnak, which was a rebuilt and probably extended structure of Shabaqo of similar function.⁴¹ The decorative program of this complex demonstrates the merging of Osiris and Amun-Re, well documented for the Third Intermediate Period and specifically for the Kushite period.⁴² The decoration of the pillared halls of the tomb of Karakhamun, although still in a ruinous state, shows a number of elements similar to the decoration of the Edifice of Taharqo, especially Room D with a section of the *Ritual of the Hours of the Night* and BD 15d, the 'solar' chapter of the *Book of the Dead*.⁴³ The sun cult is reflected in the tomb of Karakhamun with the complete text of the *Ritual of the Hours of the Night and Day* on the pillars of the First Pillared Hall. Remains of BD 15h were identified in 2011 on the west wall of the Second Pillared Hall, to the south of the statue of Osiris in the central niche and next to the remains of the second mummified figure, which is most probably an Osiride statue of the tomb owner.⁴⁴ Cooney concludes that "the Edifice of Taharqa could be described as an Osireion, but dedicated in the name of Amen-Re and associated with his cycle as a sun god and deity of the Decade Festival."⁴⁵ The concept of a Kushite-Saite temple tomb as a tomb of Osiris is well developed by Bietak and Eigner.⁴⁶ The royal burials in Kush can also be seen as Osireions.⁴⁷

Similar theological ideas were reflected in the chapels of Osiris Nb-anekh and Heqa-Djet built in northeast Karnak and dedicated to both Osiris and Amun.⁴⁸ These chapels were restored and extended already under Shabaqo and Shebitqo and were important elements of the sacred landscape of the time.⁴⁹ It has been suggested that the Edifice of Taharqo, the chapels of Osiris in Karnak, and the small temple of Amun at Medinet Habu were all part of the Decade Festival favored by the Kushites.⁵⁰ The mountain of Djeme, located in the rear rooms of Medinet Habu temple originally built by Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, was seen as a primeval mound where Amun-Re was reborn after a mystical encounter with his own primeval forms.⁵¹ Therefore, the image of Amun traveled from Karnak to Medinet Habu, stopping at the Osiris chapels and the Edifice of Shabaqo/Taharqo on the way back. The ritual travel was repeated at the beginning of every decade.⁵²

The Kushites clearly continued the solar cult of the New Kingdom as featured in numerous solar temples and courts.⁵³ The solar courts of the tombs of Karabasken and Karakhamun are among the features that incorporate these tombs into the sacred solar landscape of the Kushite period and connect them with the royal monuments of the East Bank.⁵⁴ Therefore the Kushite sacred landscape reflected the concepts of the divine rebirth, the Osirian cycle of Amun, and the creative power of the unity of chthonic and solar elements.

Another possible factor behind the choice of the South Asasif area is the closeness of the pyramids of Deir al-Medina. As Quirke writes:

Especially after the reign of Akhenaten, the tomb chapels of officials often include a roof-top pyramidion, or miniature pyramid, as a cap-stone to the brick-chapel pyramid. At Thebes and other sites such as Soleb in Nubia the brick pyramid with its limestone tip adopts a steeper angle (than in Memphis). The sides of the pyramidion might be inscribed, with an image of the tomb owner on the east side, kneeling and hands raised in the adoration of the rising sun. The southern type, and perhaps specifically the New Kingdom cemeteries at Nubian sites such as Soleb, evidently served as model for the last royal pyramids, those of Napatian and Meroitic kings in present-day Sudan.⁵⁵

The Theological Concept of the Decoration of the Tomb of Karakhamun

The monumental decorated Kushite private tomb has its roots in the past, and by reference and association is connected with the whole corpus of architecture, art, textual sources, and theological concepts of previous periods. One of the most characteristic features of a tomb of this period is the individualization of the tomb's decoration and concept. Despite similarities between certain features, every tomb of the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasties is unique as a reflection of the personality of its creator or creators. It could be the tomb owner himself or a hired artist who created the master plan of the tomb's decoration. Every tomb from the early Kushite period, and more and more into the Saite period, appears to become a multilayered structure which combines features of ancient private tombs, royal tombs, royal mortuary temples, and divine temples. Selected features vary in different tombs. Adjusted to a new sacred tomb space and often reinterpreted by the creators, they merge into a new temple-tomb structure. In a way, these magnificent large-scale tombs of the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasties reflect the concept of sacralization of a tomb space that was in development from the late New Kingdom.

Changes apparent in Late Period tombs have clear roots in the Ramesside period when private tombs manifested the transformation of a tomb from the estate of the dead into private mortuary and divine temples.⁵⁶ Changes in expectations for the afterlife concerned the addition of the solar cycle to the traditional Osirian afterlife, which reflects the new trend of royal themes finding their way into private tombs.⁵⁷

Assmann has called attention to a major difference in the emphasis of the role of the tomb owner in the Ramesside chapel, where the veneration of the deceased has been largely supplanted by the veneration of the gods.⁵⁸ In his research on the tomb's sacred space, Assmann drafts the development of tombs from the Old Kingdom on as steps of sacralization, as the tombs become a sacred space where the deceased worships the gods in a temple space.⁵⁹

Strudwick dates the innovations in tomb building to a slightly earlier period while discussing the interruption in tomb building at Thebes during the Amarna period, stating that when tombs reappear at Thebes at the end of the Amarna period, they show rapid changes in architecture, iconography, scene selection, and overall concept.⁶⁰ Strudwick suggests that the tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty were ready for change, but continued with the traditional model originated in the Old Kingdom.⁶¹ The reassessment of the tombs in the early Ramesside period “was perhaps grounded more in what was felt important at that time.”⁶²

The main changes observed in Ramesside tombs are best illustrated by Kampp-Seyfried, using the example of the tomb court. She notes that the Eighteenth Dynasty tomb court served the cult of the deceased and communication with the world of the living, while the Ramesside court appears as “a private temple court, where the tomb owner himself worshipped the gods, though without giving up the necessary provisioning scenes for the deceased.”⁶³ She adds that the same trends are apparent in the inner parts of the tomb and the fundamental transformation observed in Ramesside tombs can be best expressed by Assmann’s term “Sakralisierung des Grabgedankens.”⁶⁴

The architecture and decoration of the tomb of Karakhamun develops many of these features, creating a multilayered temple-tomb space. The superstructure of the tomb is practically lost. Remains of the original wall will be excavated in the future. The bricks of the pylon were probably reused by the villagers. Remains of the reused and redesigned mudbrick structure above the Second Pillared Hall could designate the location of an original pyramid, but the suggestion needs additional field research. Thus, for the time being, the superstructure cannot be properly analyzed. What is known of the rooms on the second level is that they give a theological idea of the progression of the deceased through the spaces of the tomb into the realm of the afterlife (fig. 3.4). As far as we can predict the decoration of the vestibule now, it presents the estate of the tomb owner in its ritualized symbolic version. The east wall of the First Pillared Hall is dedicated to the offering scenes and processions of the offering bearers with the connotation of the personification of the estates. The arrangement of the texts of the Hours on the pillars of the hall illustrates the journey of the sun god, through the Hours of the Day from east to west on the north row of pillars, and through the Hours of the Night from west to east on the south row of pillars. The pillars were topped with scenes of Karakhamun in adoration in front of Ra-Horakhty and the deities of the Hours. This cosmic picture presents the space of the First Pillared Hall as a solar temple. The Second Pillared Hall is smaller and was arranged as a temple hypostyle hall with the central aisle higher than the side aisles and topped with a cavetto cornice. A procession of deities on the thickness of the entrance led Karakhamun into the temple and symbolically along the central aisle to the statue of Osiris in the niche of the false door. The processions of offering bearers on the west wall of the hall bring the offerings to Osiris rather than Karakhamun, who plays the role of a temple worshiper rather than the rightful tomb owner.

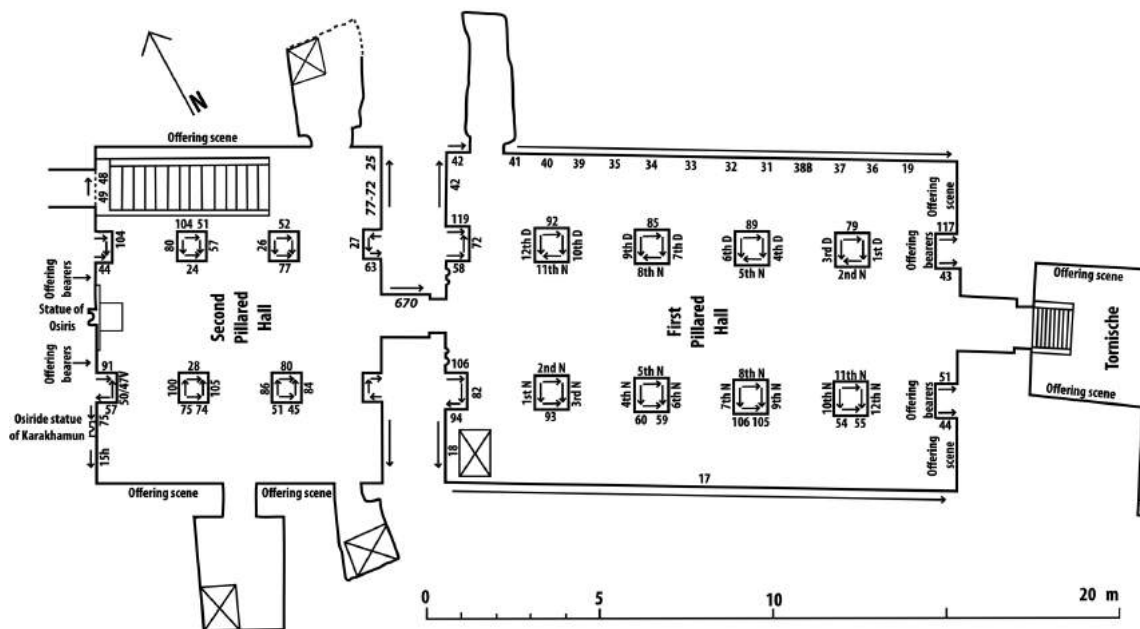
The third level of the burial chamber continues with the concept of the realm of Osiris with the scene of the Judgment of Osiris on the walls of the chamber. The astronomical ceiling derives from a repertoire of royal tombs.⁶⁵

Therefore, Karakhamun's journey in his tomb reflects "the motive of fertility and solar rule, Osiris and Ra, combined in the same alliance of primeval and celestial forces."⁶⁶ Derived from the late New Kingdom, this concept becomes the main theological platform for Kushite tomb decoration.

Rediscovery and Exploration of the South Asasif Necropolis

There are records of the site being visited in the early nineteenth century by John Gardner Wilkinson, Robert Hay, and James Burton.⁶⁷ Their notes and drawings are the principal verification of the state of preservation of the tombs at that time, documenting their ruinous condition, the weakness of the bedrock, and continuing decay.⁶⁸ Richard K. Lepsius, who probably saw the tombs in the early 1840s, left more comprehensive records, although it is difficult to say how much decoration was then intact. He was the first to record the name and some of the titles of Karakhamun as well as a few fragments of its decoration, for example, the standing figure of Karakhamun's brother, a scene of Karakhamun facing Ra-Horakhty, and a goddess of the First Hour of the Night.⁶⁹ The latter is on a well-preserved block Lepsius sent to the Berlin Museum.⁷⁰

In the mid-1970s, Dieter Eigner visited the tomb, recorded its condition, and took a few photographs in the Second Pillared Hall in the areas still partially accessible.⁷¹ He concluded that the tomb was being so intensely quarried that it would soon completely disappear.⁷² The tomb was being used as living quarters, stables, and workshops, as well as a quarry. Numerous floods accelerated the destruction of the tomb, which completely collapsed in the mid-1990s. A modern village built in the middle of the necropolis concealed its remains.



Hay visited the tomb of Karabasken and sketched its plan, while an unimpressed Wilkinson noted that it contained “nothing remarkable.”⁷³ Lepsius recorded the name and titles of Karabasken from the entrance to the First Pillared Hall,⁷⁴ although it is impossible to know how much of the decoration he actually saw. By 2006, numerous floods had covered the court and the floor of the tomb with 4 meters of debris, and the vestibule and pillared hall with 2.5 meters. A trench dug in the court verified at least six inundations. The accessible part of the tomb was occupied by villagers and used as a stable. The decoration of the upper part of the walls and doorframes was badly damaged and in some areas erased and replaced with modern graffiti.

Tomb of Karabasken

Excavation in the tomb of Karabasken began in the summer of 2006. Although the outlines of Karabasken’s main architectural elements were visible, the total lack of decoration on any discernible surface offered scant hope of any meaningful reconstruction.⁷⁵ Other negative factors were the poor quality and condition of the bedrock, the stone being weak, grainy, and fragile. During the initial cutting of the First Pillared Hall, the builders had to replace the stone in the weakest areas with denser material from elsewhere on the plateau. The surface of the stone is extensively water-damaged, increasing its instability (fig. 3.6).

The tomb is oriented east–west, with its entrance in the east. It consists of an open (sun) court, pillared hall, and a cult chamber with six niches. The walls and ceilings of the rooms were blackened by soot (fig. 3.7). Trenches and trial cleaning of the surface of the walls and pillars indicated that the tomb was largely unfinished and undecorated. There are no traces of preliminary drawings on the walls of the rooms, but the pillars bear preliminary drawings of column lines in red ink. The shallow and uneven outlines of the side niches in the cult chamber show that they

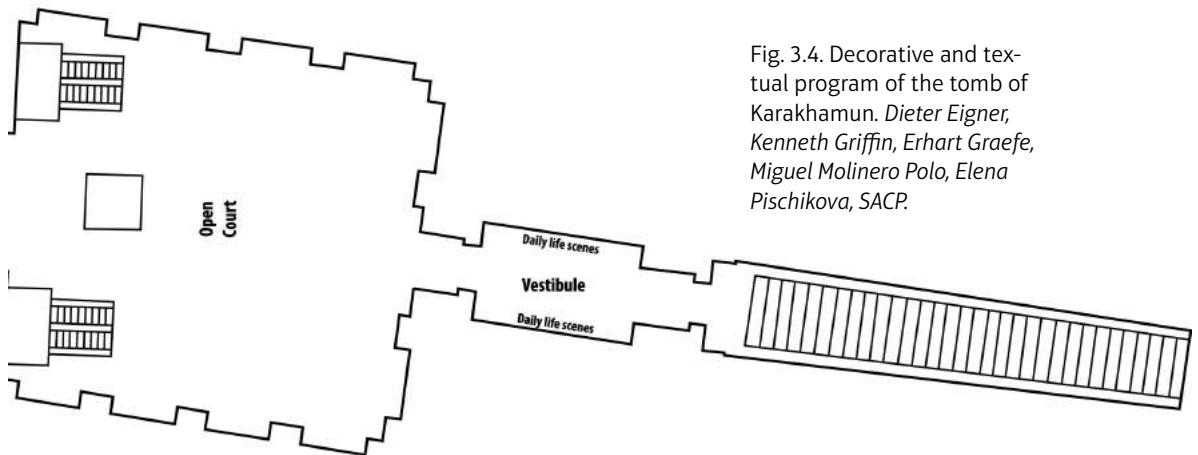


Fig. 3.4. Decorative and textual program of the tomb of Karakhamun. Dieter Eigner, Kenneth Griffin, Erhart Graefe, Miguel Molinero Polo, Elena Pischikova, SACP.

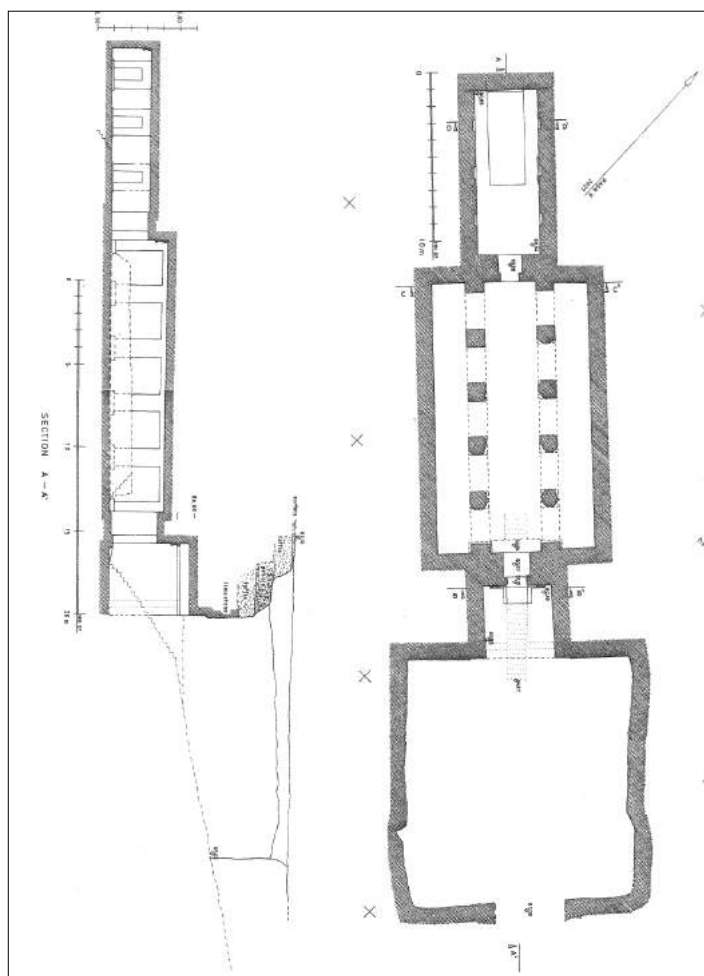


Fig. 3.5. Plan and section of the tomb of Karabasken.
 Surveyor Günter Heindel, SACP

were never completed. The decoration of the false door or cult niche on the west wall is completely destroyed—if it was ever finished. Only traces of a cavetto cornice are still visible in the middle of the west wall. Remains of another unfinished cavetto with preliminary red lines were found above the door frame on the west wall of the pillared hall (fig. 3.8). It is possible to suggest that both elements were built out of better quality limestone and attached to the walls.

The only decorated part of the tomb was uncovered during the 2006 and 2007 seasons, after removal of an almost two-meter-thick debris layer and a modern mud-brick structure, in the area of the deep vaulted recess in the west wall of the court known as a ‘Tornische’ (fig. 3.9).⁷⁶ The clearing exposed the lower part of the door-frame, with two relatively well-preserved images of a seated Karabasken with his name and titles above him. The two-meter-long thickness and back of the doorway



Fig. 3.6. Open court of the tomb of Karabasken.



Fig. 3.7. Pillared hall of the tomb of Karabasken. *Photo Katherine Blakeney, SACP*

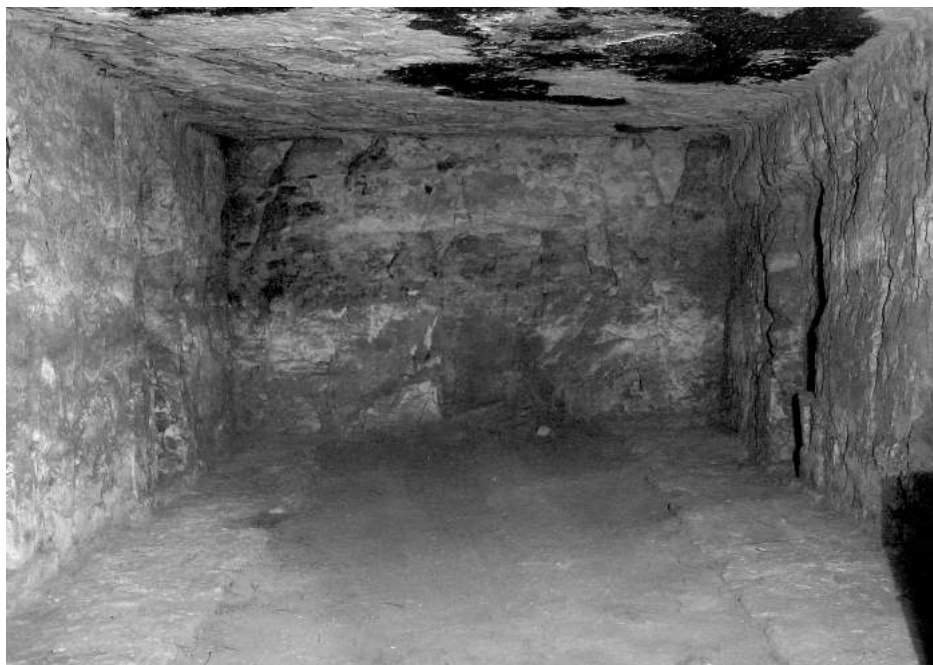


Fig. 3.8. Cult chamber of the tomb of Karabasken after excavation. *Photo Katherine Blakeney, SACP*

carry the remains of severely damaged inscriptions. The carved surface has deteriorated from salting caused by the moist environment. Dust and mechanical damage further add to its poor condition. The surface of the stone was cleaned and consolidated. Numerous fragments of inscriptions found in the debris were reattached in their original locations. Reconstruction and consolidation of the decorated area in the tomb of Karabasken is still a work in progress.

In 2007 the cult chamber was cleared down to the floor level. The clearing revealed the outlines of the descent into the burial chamber, measuring 5.5m x 2m. The burial compartment remains unexcavated till now. The pillared hall is awaiting excavation as well. It measures 16m x 9.3m and includes two rows of four pillars (3.2 meters high) with corresponding pilasters on the east and west walls. The open court (15m x 13m) is almost completely concealed by a three-meter layer of debris. Excavation of the court of Kabasken started in 2013.

Tomb of Karakhamun⁷⁷

First Pillared Hall

The fieldwork in the tomb of Karakhamun began in the summer of 2006. By that time the tomb had completely collapsed and the survey of the area to the east of the tomb of Karabasken revealed the only visible trace of the tomb: a crack in the bed-rock blackened by soot (fig. 3.10). Calculations allowed the assumption that it was

located above the remains of the First Pillared Hall. The entrance structures and open court had disappeared under the houses of the village. The primary goal of the first season was to determine if any traces of the tomb's architecture or its decorative features had survived. The onset of the excavation met with numerous difficulties, including the removal of an odiferous garbage dump. Reaching the original ceiling level, about 3 meters below ground level, brought the realization that the ceiling of the First Pillared Hall had completely collapsed and had taken down with it the tops of the pillars and walls.

The first small fragments of relief decoration were found on the north wall almost 2 meters below ceiling level, but the most important discovery of the first season occurred on the east wall (fig. 3.11). Divided by a door frame, it had the remains of two mirror-image offering scenes of Karakhamun seated at an offering table with offering lists inscribed above them. The two-register composition to the right depicts a procession of offering bearers in the second register and the performance of offering rituals on the bottom register. Totally destroyed on the south part of the wall, this scene is unexpectedly well-preserved on the north section. The importance of this find was not only the confirmation that some of the decoration had survived, but also the exquisite quality of the carving, demonstrating that it was one of the most beautiful Kushite tombs in the Theban necropolis.

Excavation of the First Pillared Hall was completed by the end of the 2009 season (fig. 3.12). It is an eight-pillared hall, with the height of the pillars in situ varying from 0.8 to 1.5 meters. Traces of the ceiling in the corners give the height of the room as from 3.3 to 3.4 meters. The condition of the walls varies, with the north wall and southwest corner among the most destroyed. Although more than half of the walls' and pillars' height collapsed, the decoration of the hall is reconstructable due to the vast amount of found fragments. It seems most of the relief decoration was still in situ when the ceiling collapsed. Therefore, the concentration of elements of the decoration in the last meter of debris from floor level averaged about four to five hundred fragments around every pillar. Over eight thousand carved fragments of the walls and pillars and over four thousand fragments of painted ceiling were found in the First



Fig. 3.9. Entrance to the pillared hall in the tomb of Karabasken. *Photo Katherine Blakeney, SACP*



Fig. 3.10. Traces of the tomb of Karakhamun in 2006, before excavation. *Photo Katherine Blakeney, SACP*

Pillared Hall during the first three years of its excavation. The following years of excavation more than doubled the number of the found fragments.

The worst preserved part of the hall is its southwest corner. It was probably one of the earliest sections of the tomb to be reused. An intrusive chapel with a sandstone entrance was built into the corner between the walls and the pillar. The finds in the five-meter shaft and undecorated burial chamber do not help to clarify the ownership of the chapel. The only preserved evidence are the remains of an inscription on a sandstone doorjamb with the name Padihor. A preserved fragment of a title shows his association with the office of the God's Wife of Amun, therefore the usurper could have been of the later Twenty-fifth or Twenty-sixth Dynasty.

The shaft and the burial chamber were entered and plundered, probably on numerous occasions. After the last attempt, the shaft was refilled with large blocks of the decorated limestone that had collapsed into the shaft from the surrounding walls, pilasters, and pillars. Therefore, the worst preserved section of the hall might prove to be the easiest to reconstruct.

Conservation and Reconstruction Work in the First Pillared Hall

Northwest Pillar (NP5)

The height of the pillar as found in 2008 was below 1 meter in situ with the height of the ceiling in the northwest corner at 330 centimeters. The south side of the pillar featured the text of the Eleventh Hour of the Day. Numerous fragments found



Fig. 3.11. Offering scene. East wall, First Pillared Hall. Tomb of Karakhamun. *Photo Katherine Blakeney, SACP*

around the pillar allowed the immediate start of the reconstruction of the text and the image of Karakhamun kneeling in adoration in front of Ra-Horakhty and the deities of the Hours, on the ground (fig. 3.14). The reconstruction was considerably altered in 2009. As almost 80 percent of the text and imagery was preserved, it permitted the reconstruction in situ (fig. 3.15).

The first step was consolidation of the remaining part of the pillar with steel rods, lime plaster, and relevant conservation materials. The second step was to build a metal structure that could take the weight of the reconstructed sections off the ancient pillar. Five holes, 2 centimeters in diameter and 1 meter deep, were drilled in the pillar, going through the remains of the pillar in situ and into the bedrock floor. Steel rods were inserted into the holes, forming supports for a metal frame made of steel bars. Thus, the reconstructed section of the pillar, composed of ancient fragments and new limestone, rests on the metal frame built into the floor of the tomb.



Fig. 3.12. First Pillared Hall after excavation. Tomb of Karakhamun. Photo Katherine Blakeney, SACP



Fig. 3.13. Reconstruction of the pillar (NP5) and pilaster (NP6). First Pillared Hall. Tomb of Karakhamun. Photo Katherine Blakeney, SACP



Fig. 3.14. Reconstruction of the text of the Eleventh Hour of the Day. Tomb of Karakhamun. *Photo Katherine Blakeney, SACP*



Fig. 3.15. Vignette of the text of the Eleventh Hour (NP5). Tomb of Karakhamun. *Drawing Katherine Blakeney, SACP*

Four courses of limestone were built to support the fragments of the decoration. Ancient fragments were attached to each other to form larger sections. Deep sockets were carved in the new limestone to receive ancient fragments and ensure their stability and protection. The gaps were filled with lime plaster.

The pillar was built to its original height of 306 centimeters and crowned with a section of architrave of 24 centimeters to reach the ceiling height of 330 centimeters.

Entrance to the Second Pillared Hall and Northwest Pilaster (N6)

The reconstruction work in 2011 concentrated on the northwest pilaster on the west wall of the First Pillared Hall and the north part of the entrance to the Second Pillared Hall. The pilaster was rebuilt from 1–1.5 meters to its original height of 3.3 meters, including 224 centimeters of architrave. Chapter 58 of the *Book of the Dead* (BD) was reconstructed on the southern face and BD 72 on the eastern face of the pilaster. Fifty-seven fragments belonging to BD 58 and eight fragments belonging to BD 72 were reinstated in their original locations, including the vignette of BD 72 where Karakhamun is depicted standing with his arms raised in adoration before a group of deities (now missing).

Fragments were first reconstructed in sand trays within the storage area. Fragments that joined directly were glued together. The reconstruction of the doorway and flanking pilasters was based on the combination of ancient fragments with blocks



Fig. 3.16. Reconstruction of the entrance to the Second Pillared Hall. Tomb of Karakhamun.
Photo Katherine Blakeney, SACP

of new limestone. The limestone blocks were cut into thin sections so as to ensure that the weight of the limestone would not compromise the stability of the reconstruction. Approximately 2 meters of limestone courses were built up above the entrance and northwest pilaster in order to house the fragments. Pockets were cut into the limestone blocks in which the fragments were inserted. The old and new limestone blocks were joined together, ensuring that the pillars were structurally stable.

At the entrance, several courses of new limestone blocks were added to house the ancient fragments. Utterance 670 of the Pyramid Texts was identified on the northern face of the passageway. The text is written in horizontal columns, with only the lower part preserved in situ. Three additional fragments were reaffixed into the wall, while a further twelve fragments belonging to this text were identified. Three fragments were also added to the interior face of the entrance, including one containing the head of Karakhamun, completing the image of the deceased seated on a chair, which had been reconstructed during the previous season. Reconstruction work of the seasons of 2012-13 concentrated on the southwest pilaster of the First Pillared Hall (SP6) and the Second Pillared Hall. BD 82, 91 and 106 were reconstructed on the pilaster.

The Second Pillared Hall is the main focus of the 2013 season. Two large offering scenes on the south and west walls and the false door, as well as BD 15h, 75, 57, 50, and 91, are, at the time of writing, works in progress.

Second Pillared Hall

Excavation of the Second Pillared Hall was performed in the 2009 and 2010 seasons. The ceiling of the hall has completely collapsed, taking down the remains of the walls and the pillars. The degree of destruction of the architectural elements in the Second Pillared Hall is higher than in the first, because the space behind the walls was used as a quarry.

Some of the decoration of the entrance was found still in situ. Among this are fragments of two figures of the procession of the deities leading Karakhamun to



Fig. 3.17. Fragment of a divine procession. Entrance to the Second Pillared Hall. Tomb of Karakhamun. Photo Katherine Blakeney, SACP



Fig. 3.18. Reconstruction of the figure of Karakhamun. Entrance to the Second Pillared Hall. Tomb of Karakhamun. Photo Katherine Blakeney, SACP

the netherworld on the thickness of the entrance structure (fig. 3.17). Their precise, detailed carving with exquisite modeling is among the most impressive in the tomb. The two figures are probably Karakhamun being held by his wrist by a female deity. A few more fragments of this scene have already been found in the debris. The inner jambs of the entrance were occupied by two seated figures of Karakhamun found in fragments and reconstructed in situ in 2010 and 2011 (fig. 3.18). The hall as cleared (8m x 9.5m) has three aisles separated by two rows of pillars, two in each row (fig. 3.19). The central aisle leads to the false door, which contained a statue of Osiris. The false door collapsed almost completely. Preserved is a ramp leading to the door and the feet of Osiris. Three more fragments of the statue of Osiris were found during the clearing of the vestibule in 2012. The south wall stands only 43 centimeters high, the west about 35 centimeters, and the north has only a small section (138cm x 120cm) in situ. The best-preserved wall is the north section of the east wall. The wall is decorated with a wide painted frieze of sacred oil jars and tools for the ceremony of the Opening of the Mouth. The lower part of the wall is inscribed with Pyramid Texts 25, 73, 74, and 77 (fig. 3.20). The wall connects to a small section of the ceiling at a height of 265 centimeters. The pillars stand from 11 to 50 centimeters high.

Remains of two side rooms were uncovered on the south side of the hall. The entrance to the room at the center of the south wall (V.A) was flanked by two seated images of Karakhamun's brother Nesamenopet, judging by the remains of the inscription. Only the foundations of the walls have been preserved in the 3m x 2.5m room. A shaft in the southwest corner of the room is 6.8 meters deep with a roughly carved 2.5m x 2.5m undecorated chamber at the bottom. The side room with an entrance on the north wall must have been contemporary to the tomb, as the collapsed lintel with a male figure at the offering table is inscribed to Karakhamun. Only the outlines of the room are preserved on the floor. A 5.1-meter shaft leads to a 3.5m x 3.8m undecorated chamber. All the burials were disturbed in the past.

A large number of sizable pieces of cavetto cornice were found in the entrance area. A cavetto adorned the doorframe of the entrance on the front and back sides. Some of the cavetto fragments found are attached to lintel pieces with the name and



Fig. 3.19. Second Pillared Hall after excavation. *Photo Katherine Blakeney, SACP*

titles of Karakhamun. A few of them have direct joints on the pilaster and the east wall of the Second Pillared Hall, which was reconstructed in 2011. It suggests that Karakhamun contains a rare architectural feature for a private tomb—the central aisle’s architrave is crowned with a cavetto cornice (fig. 3.21). The aisle itself is about 70 cm higher than the side aisles.⁷⁸

A large carved area, about 14.25 meters deep, surrounds the Second Pillared Hall from the south, west, and north. This presents the possibility of a corridor surrounding the Second Pillared Hall. The other option, of this space being created later during the quarrying activities in the tomb, cannot be eliminated. There is also a chance of the stone quarrying being concentrated in this area because of the existing unfinished corridor (or finished, but later destroyed).

Conservation and Reconstruction Work in the Second Pillared Hall

Despite the ruined condition of the Second Pillared Hall, up to about 80 percent of it could be restored and reconstructed. Over five thousand fragments of the Second Pillared Hall’s decoration found in debris allow the relief decoration to be



Fig. 3.20. East wall. Second Pillared Hall. Tomb of Karakhamun. Photo Katherine Blakeney, SACP

reconstructed to almost full completion.⁷⁹ A study of the elements in situ along with newly found fragments of architectural elements, inscriptions, and imagery allows us to understand the original design of the room. As the main goal of our work is the reconstruction of the tomb's architecture and decoration in situ, some restored fragments were immediately reinstalled on the walls and pillars, and others were joined in sand boxes to prepare larger sections for future reconstructions. The hall was inscribed with twenty-nine chapters of the *Book of the Dead* on the pillar faces and west wall. Thousands of fragments were identified as belonging to different inscriptions and scenes of the hall and many of them have recently become parts of the pillars' and walls' reconstructions. The most sizable reconstruction of 2011 was performed on the northwest pilaster of the hall. With only 11 centimeters of the pilaster remaining in situ, it was reconstructed to 153 centimeters, with eight fragments added. The collapsed fragments were found on the steps to the burial chamber.

Conservation was carried on at the time of clearing in order to consolidate weak elements in situ and newly found fragments. Found pillars were consolidated and cleaned. The south wall can be completed from the southwest corner to the



Fig. 3.21. Fragments of architrave. Second Pillared Hall. Tomb of Karakhamun. *Photo Katherine Blakeney, SACP*

entrance to the side room. Around one hundred joints were found for the 360-centimeter-long wall section. The on-the-ground reconstruction, composed of more than one hundred fragments, shows Karakhamun at the offering table and an offering list. The offering list was reconstructed on the ground up to 1.5 meters high. The figure of Nesamenopet was reconstructed in situ up to the nose. This standing figure was copied by Lepsius around 1841–42 and appears in his publication. Since then, the wall collapsed and the figure was destroyed as well. Interestingly, while copying the image, Lepsius recreated the ancient grid lines with pencil marks and counted the lines. His markings, with numbers, helped to identify and join thirty-seven fragments belonging to this figure (fig. 3.22).

The north wall was decorated with the largest offering scene in the tomb. Its reconstruction was done in a sand box. Fragments of the torso, arms, legs, and head of Karakhamun indicate an over-life-size figure of the tomb owner seated at the offering table. A large offering list separated his figure from a standing priest or relative. The lower part of the body of the priest and the offering list are still in situ. The north wall demonstrates some of the boldest large-scale carving in the whole tomb.

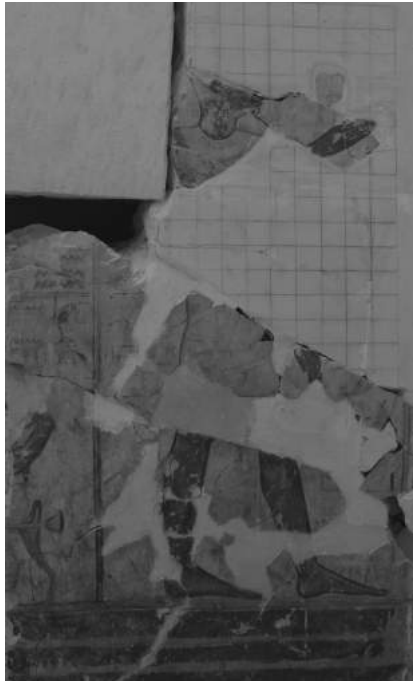


Fig. 3.22. Reconstruction of the figure of Nesamenopet ('Lepsius Figure'). Tomb of Karakhamun. *Photo Katherine Blakeney, SACP*



Fig. 3.23. Fragments of the statue of Osiris. Second Pillared Hall. Tomb of Karakhamun. Photo Katherine Blakeney, SACP

Conservation work of the 2013 season concentrates on the south and west walls of the Second Pillared Hall, including the monumental false door (fig. 3.23). (The results of this work will be discussed in the later publications of the South Asasif Conservation Project.)

Main Burial Compartment

A staircase leading to the main burial chamber was found in the north aisle of the Second Pillared Hall, lined up with the first pillar (fig. 3.24). The staircase is 465 centimeters long and 120 centimeters wide. It is comprised of fourteen steps of about 17 centimeters in height with narrow ramps on the sides. The walls and the steps are in good condition. The staircase was protected by the early collapse of the large ceiling blocks, which were found on the steps. The surface of the steps was burned and a large amount of burned bones covered in glaze were found on the steps. The second flight of steps is divided by a ramp in the middle. It is 214 centimeters wide and comprises thirteen steps.

The whole burial compartment (four rooms on the upper level and a subsidiary burial chamber below) was cleared of debris of about 1.5–2 meters deep in different areas. The spacious shaft room (360cm x 314cm) contains an 870-centimeter-deep shaft, which had about 1 meter of debris at the bottom.

The main burial chamber was filled with debris up to 120–150 centimeters, with the height of the room being 214 centimeters and its size 4.54m x 3.19m. Only the tops of the walls and the ceiling were visible (fig. 3.25). When the chamber was cleared down to floor level, a large coffin pit (335cm x 153cm x 75cm) was found in the middle of the room. The burial chamber was plastered and brightly painted with astronomical scenes on the ceiling and BD 125 on the walls. The ceiling is painted blue with yellow and red stars. The middle of the ceiling is occupied by a large figure of the goddess Nut painted yellow with black hair. It is surrounded by astronomical figures and deities in barks. The walls depict forty-two mummified figures with the scene of the Judgment of Osiris on the east wall. There were cracks and losses on the ceiling and the largest losses are on the east wall and the eastern part of the ceiling. Clearing the chamber resulted in the discovery of numerous fragments of painted plaster ranging

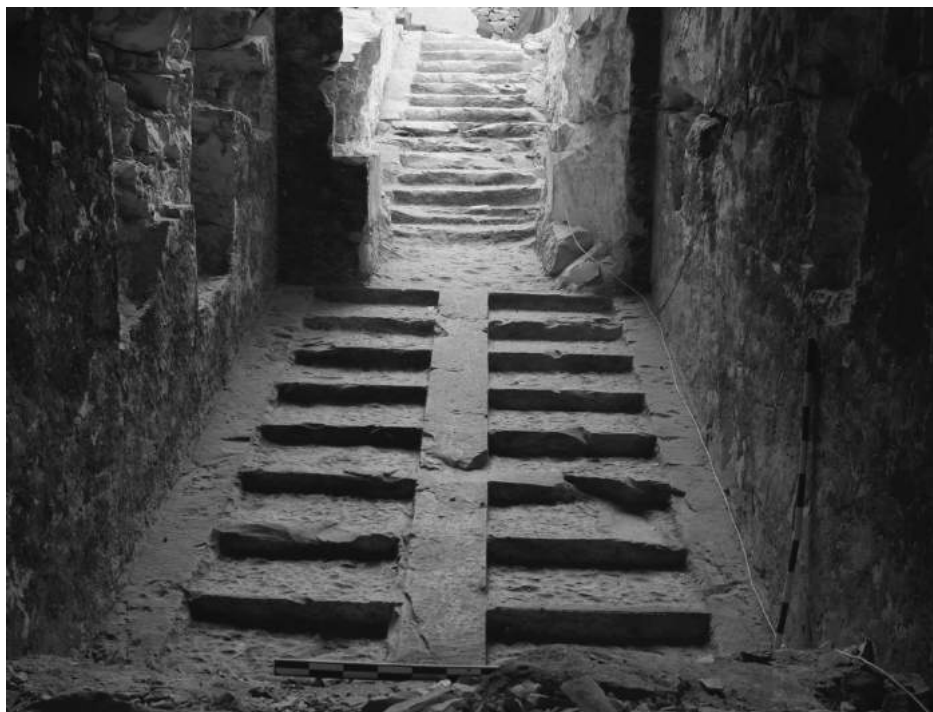


Fig. 3.24. Staircase to the burial compartment. Tomb of Karakhamun. *Photo Katherine Blakeney, SACP*



Fig. 3.25. Main burial chamber before excavation. Tomb of Karakhamun. *Photo Katherine Blakeney, SACP*



Fig. 3.26. Main burial chamber after excavation and conservation. Tomb of Karakhamun. *Photo Katherine Blakeney, SACP*

from 1 centimeter to 1 meter. The total number of recovered fragments from the burial chamber is 5,866. All the fragments were cleaned and consolidated by the conservators before they were reinstalled on the walls and ceiling of the chamber (fig. 3.26). Conservation and reconstruction of the burial chamber was mostly finished in 2011–2012, although there is still a number of small plaster fragments to be placed.

Open Court

The outlines of the open court were detected in August 2011. The size of the court, as judged by the tops of the walls, is 10.23m x 11.25m. The condition of the court's walls is solid and stable. Debris over the court is 2.5 meters deep and mostly occupational: it remains occupational in the western part of the court, but changes into a thick layer of flood debris in the east. This shows that the west part of the court was used by the local villagers for much longer than the east, which may be better preserved.

A trench made in the northwest part of the court in 2011 revealed a few architectural elements which form a repetitive pattern of the court's decoration. The 2012 and 2013 season excavation clarified the court's decoration. The court walls are topped with a cavetto cornice. The north and south walls of the court were divided into four compartments by pilasters with a flat niche in each of them. They are undecorated and crowned with a semicircle pattern composed of five carved lines. The decoration of the niches most probably signifies monumental images of *pr-nw* chapels. Five semicircles are an unusual pattern for the top of a traditional chapel. So far, the closest



Fig. 3.27. Open Court. Tomb of Karakhamun. *Photo Katherine Blakeney, SACP*

parallel can be found in a slightly later tomb in Nuri.⁸⁰ With four monumental shrines on each wall, the Court would be reminiscent of an oversized coffin with elements of contemporary decoration.⁸¹ The concept of a Late Period court as a reflection of a contemporary coffin in a monumental shape was discussed by Russmann, who looked at the example of the First court in the tomb of Mentuemhat.⁸² The court of Karakhamun could have initiated this type of decoration.

The west wall was designed with rectangular multi-profiled niches enclosing uninscribed stelae. Excavation in the 2012 season revealed two limestone altars in front of both niches.

Vestibule

Clearing the top part of the court in 2011 revealed a doorway leading to the entrance room of the tomb (vestibule). It is a room with a flat ceiling of 470cm x 130cm. It was filled with flood debris up to 70 centimeters from the ceiling. A corridor, of 163cm x 162cm, on the east wall of the room leads to an entrance staircase (fig. 3.28).

The tops of the north and south walls display a 54-centimeter register of the room's decoration. The scenes are left in preliminary drawings, which are very masterfully done in minute detail. They all belong to the cycle of daily-life scenes, including musicians, dancers, wine makers, and agricultural workmen in the fields. All of them are inspired by Old Kingdom iconography and recall similar scenes from the Giza and Saqqara necropolises.



Fig. 3.28. Vestibule before excavation. Tomb of Karakhamun. *Photo Katherine Blakeney, SACP*



Fig. 3.29. Vestibule after excavation. Tomb of Karakhamun. *Photo Katherine Blakeney, SACP*

The bedrock was plastered more in weak areas. The surface and pigment are fragile and in need of conservation and consolidation, which were started in 2011. Excavation in the 2012 season revealed the considerable loss of painted surface below the first register (fig. 3.29). Small fragments of plaster found in debris with traces of pigment in situ will help to identify some of the missing scenes, but the decoration of the walls cannot be reconstructed in the lower sections.

Entrance Staircase

While excavating the area to the east of the vestibule in 2012, the first step of the entrance staircase was found 21.5 meters away from the eastern boundaries of the tomb. After finding the first step and estimating its width, we continued clearing an area of 2m x 20m to find a staircase with its lower step 7 meters below ground. The steps were carved in bedrock, which was very weak close to the ground level and damaged by water. The steps show numerous ancient repairs and major reinforcement with sandstone slabs, probably around the Ptolemaic period.⁸³ The steps lead to a decorated doorframe recarved in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty for Ankhefendjehuty, usurper at the time of Psamtik II (fig. 3.31). Excavation of the tomb of Karakhamun was mostly finished in 2013 (fig. 3.32.)



Fig. 3.30. Entrance staircase. Tomb of Karakhamun. Photo Katherine Blakeney, SACP

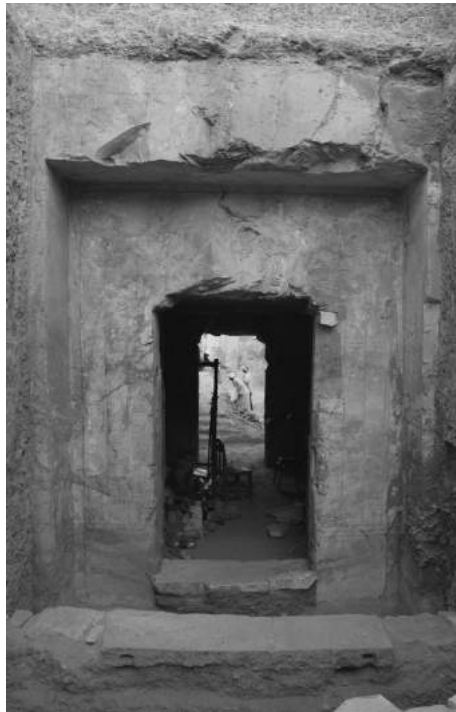
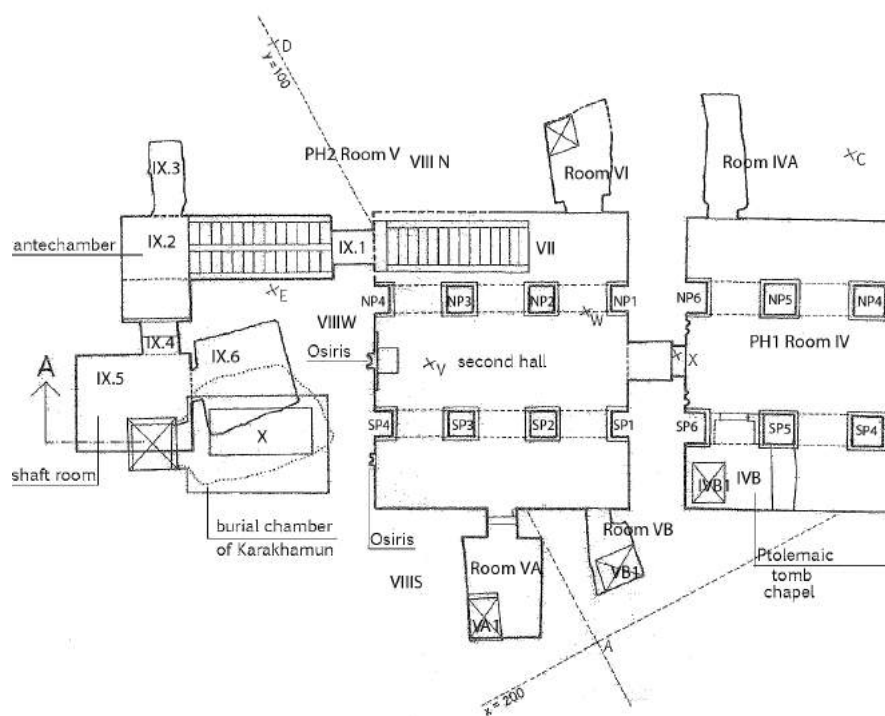


Fig. 3.31. Entrance door to the tomb of Karakhamun. Photo Katherine Blakeney, SACP



Later History of the Site

Unfortunately, the tomb of Karakhamun did not remain in its original condition for long. Possibly the first usurper of the tomb was Padihor, whose name and the remains of titles were found on a sandstone doorjamb of his intrusive chapel built in the First Pillared Hall. The nature of this title suggests a later Twenty-fifth or Twenty-sixth Dynasty date.

In the early Twenty-sixth Dynasty, an attempt was made to reuse the tomb for Nespakashuty D, the Vizier of Upper Egypt under Psamtik I. Karakhamun's name and titles were covered in plaster, or cut out of the walls and pillars. The gaps were filled with limestone plaques that were to be inscribed with the name of the new owner. Most of the new 'name plaques' were found uninscribed, showing that the usurpation was never completed.⁸⁴ They measure 20–22 centimeters in length, 9–11 centimeters in width, and 4–5 centimeters in depth. Only two bear, in red paint, the name and titles of the usurper, Nespakashuty D. It is not surprising to learn that he attempted to usurp Karakhamun's tomb because the tomb of his mother, Irtieru (TT 390), was adjacent to it and Nespakashuty undoubtedly wanted to be buried near her.

Nespakashuty's workmen may also have started recarving the lintel of the entrance of the Second Pillared Hall. Their work was never completed, probably because the tomb started showing signs of instability when disturbed, as it was not carved deeply enough into the limestone plateau to guarantee stability.⁸⁵

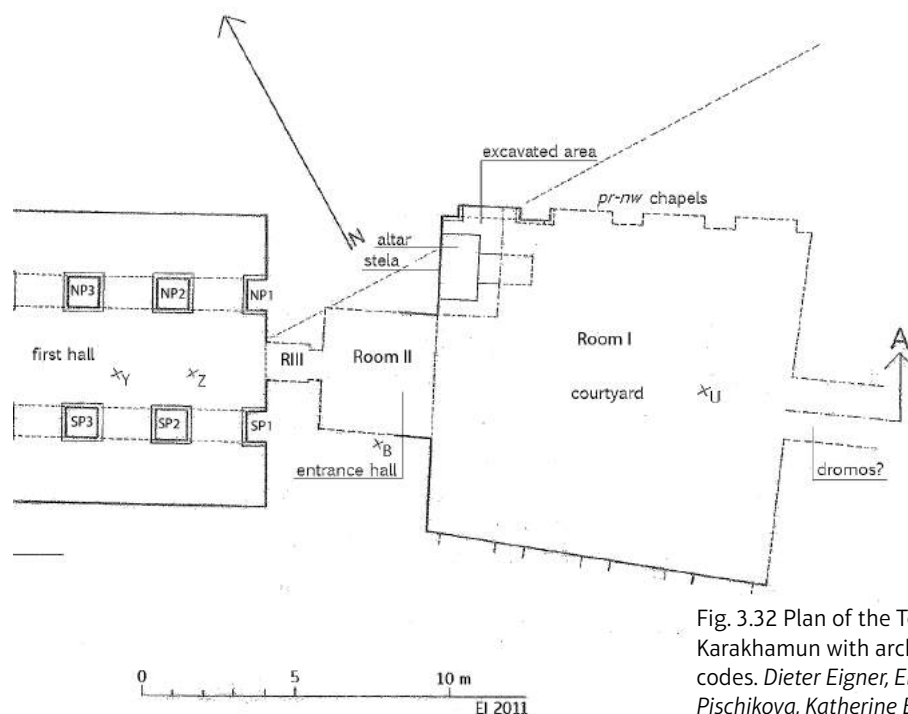


Fig. 3.32 Plan of the Tomb of Karakhamun with archaeological codes. Dieter Eigner, Elena Pischikova, Katherine Blakeney.

The next usurper of the tomb can be dated to the later Twenty-sixth Dynasty. The recarved lintel and drum of the entrance to the Second Pillared Hall bear a name that was also in the recently found vestibule of the tomb of Karakhamun. He incorporated his inscription into the vestibule's decoration on top of the scenes, partially crossing them with a thick register line applied on top of some of the imagery. The discovery of his inscription in the vestibule helps to solve the 'mystery' of the tomb C14, assigned to Ankhefendjehuty based on Wilkinson's copy of an inscription with his name.⁸⁶ At the same time, tomb C14, which is located to the south of Karakhamun's open court, is unfinished and uninscribed.⁸⁷ Most probably, at the time Wilkinson visited the area, the tomb of Karakhamun was already so damaged, with the First Pillared Hall having already possibly collapsed, that he did not see its vestibule as part of Karakhamun and mistook it for a separate tomb or part of C14. This means that, once it has been firmly determined where Wilkinson made his copy, C14 has lost its potential owner. There is a possibility that C14 was being carved for Ankhefendjehuty. It was midway through being carved (only one aisle of the pillared hall was completed) and left unfinished due to his premature death. Some areas of the tomb of Karakhamun were reinscribed instead and he was probably buried in one of the secondary burial chambers in the Second Pillared Hall. The recent excavation of the main

entrance to the tomb of Karakhamun revealed the lintel and doorjambs to be entirely recarved for Ankhefendjehuty. It seems that Karakhamun did not have strong family ties in Egypt, and so his tomb was left unprotected soon after the burial and started being reused and plundered soon after.

The tomb was reused and burned on many occasions from the Twenty-seventh Dynasty on. Constant burning on the floor made the limestone of the walls extremely brittle. Coptic ostraka and papyri are evidence of its use by a Coptic monastic community. The most recent reuse was by the local population of Qurna.⁸⁸

Notes

- 1 For example, see Dan'el Kahn, "The Transition from Libyan to Nubian Rule in Egypt: Revisiting the Reign of Tefnakht," in Gerard P.F. Broekman et al., *The Libyan Period in Egypt*, 139–48 or Kitchen, "The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt: An Overview of Fact and Fiction," in Gerard P.F. Broekman et al., *The Libyan Period in Egypt*, 161–202. The ongoing discussion on the subject of the chronological framework of the Third Intermediate Period is well outlined in Gerard P.F. Broekman, "The Egyptian Chronology from the Start of the Twenty-Second until the End of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty: Facts, Suppositions and Arguments," *Journal of Egyptian History* 4 (2011): 40–80.
- 2 Erik Hornung et al., eds., *Ancient Egyptian Chronology*, Vol. 83, Handbook of Oriental Studies IV, 3 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006), 258–64. The chronological framework for the Twenty-fifth Dynasty given by Karl Jansen-Winkeln ("The Chronology of the Third Intermediate Period: Dyns. 22–24", in *Ancient Egyptian Chronology*, edited by Erik Hornung, Rolf Krauss, and David A. Warburton (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 234–65) is 753–722 BC for Piye, 722–707 BC for Shabako, 707–690 BC for Shebitqo, and 690–664 BC for Taharqo. He suggests longer reigns for Shabako and Shebitqo and asserts that a co-regency is rendered hardly possible by the amount of building activity for both kings and the fact that a new individualized image different from his predecessor was developed for Shebitqo during his reign. At the same time, Kitchen calls the attempt to date the beginning of Shebitqo's reign to 706 BC "superficial, misleading and contradicted by the overall evidence," suggesting that "it is wiser to stay with the dates of 716/15–702 and 702–690 BC respectively for the actual reigns of Shabako and Shebitku": Kitchen, "The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt: An Overview," 161–202 and 162–64.
- 3 As was noted by Vittmann, "It is perhaps surprising that for a period of approximately seventy years of Kushite rule in Egypt only a rather limited number of Kushites in various positions could be identified: the highest priestly offices in Thebes, those of the God's Wife of Amun and the High Priest of Amun, were kept by Kushite princesses and princes, and quite a few individuals of either sex were in some way or another attached to the cult of Amun and Mut. As to Nubians in civil administration, there was first of all Kelbasken, mayor of Thebes, whereas in the influential family of Montemhet, which produced some Upper Egyptian viziers, the Nubian element is difficult to define in detail": Günter Vittmann, "A Question of Names, Titles, and Iconography: Kushites in Priestly, Administrative and Other Positions from Dynasties 25 to 26," *MittSAG*, 18 (2007): 159.
- 4 Karl Jansen-Winkeln, *Inscriben der Spätzeit, Teil III: Die 25. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2009), 499.

- 5 Kenneth A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100 BC – 650 BC)* (Warminster: Aris and Phillips Ltd., 1986), 382, Table 14. He gives a reference to Hermann Kees, *Die Hohenpriester des Amun von Karnak von Heribor bis zum Ende der Äthiopienzeit*, PÄ 4 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1964), 276, 283, n.3.
- 6 Günter Vittmann, *Priester und Beamte im Theben der Spätzeit. Genealogische und prosopographische Untersuchungen zum thebanischen Priester- und Beamtentum der 25. und 26. Dynastie*, Beiträge zur Ägyptologie 1 (Vienna: Veröffentlichungen der Institute für Afrikanistik und Ägyptologie der Universität, 1978), 100; Jean Leclant, *Recherches sur les monuments thébains de la XXV^e dynastie dite Éthiopienne*, BdE 36 (Cairo: IFAO, 1965), 389.
- 7 Morris L. Bierbrier, “Review of Günter Vittmann, *Priester und Beamte im Theben der Spätzeit*,” *WiOr* 36 (1979): 307; Broekman, “The Egyptian Chronology,” 68.
- 8 Nigel Strudwick, “The Fourth Priest of Amun, Wedjahor,” *GM* 148 (1995): 91–93. Strudwick discusses finds from the tomb of Sennefer (TT 99) inscribed to the Fourth Priest of Amun Wedjahor and shares a number of opinions on the chronology of the Theban Fourth Priests of Amun, including that of John Taylor, who suggests that Karabasken could have followed Wedjahor in office.
- 9 László Török, *The Kingdom of Kush: Handbook of the Napatian–Meroitic Civilization* (Leiden, New York, Cologne: Brill, 1997), 168.
- 10 Frédéric Payraudeau, “La désignation du gouverneur de Thèbes aux époques libyenne et éthiopienne,” *RdE* 54 (2003): 147, n.89.
- 11 Vittmann, “A Question of Names,” 145.
- 12 Robert G. Morkot, “Thebes under the Kushites” in this volume.
- 13 Karakhamun and his family are not mentioned in Kitchen or Vittmann, the most comprehensive studies of the Third Intermediate Period and Late Period chronology: Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100–650 B.C.)*; Vittmann, *Priester und Beamte im Theben der Spätzeit*.
- 14 Christopher Naunton, “Titles of Karakhamun and the Kushite Administration of Thebes” in this volume. Naunton’s statement is based on his PhD dissertation on the Theban administration in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, “Regime Change and the Administration of Thebes during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty” (PhD diss., Swansea University, 2012).
- 15 Yvonne Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom: Studies in Orientation and Scene Content*, Studies in Egyptology (London: Kegan Paul International, 1987), 35–36.
- 16 For example, Harpur discusses suggested dates for the tomb of Nefer I as the second half of the Fifth Dynasty to the first half of the Sixth Dynasty, Pepy II, and so on; see Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs*, 37.
- 17 Criteria from Harpur’s list are marked with ‘H’ and the list number.
- 18 Dieter Eigner, *Die monumentalen Grabbauten der Spätzeit in der thebanischen Nekropole*, Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des österreichischen archäologischen Institutes 6 (Vienna: Verl. der Öster. Akad. der Wiss., 1984).
- 19 David A. Aston, *Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21–25: Chronology–Typology–Developments*, Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean 21, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie 54 (Vienna: Verl. der Öster. Akad. der Wiss., 2009).

- 20 "... in the early Third Intermediate Period, only two were cut along the lines of the preceding New Kingdom models" (Aston, *Burial Assemblages*, 411).
- 21 Aston, *Burial Assemblages*, 411.
- 22 Aston, *Burial Assemblages*, 411–12.
- 23 Aston, *Burial Assemblages*, 413.
- 24 Aston, *Burial Assemblages*, 413, 416.
- 25 As is evident from Aston's maps illustrating the development of the Theban necropolis in the Late Period, it was growing from south to north, 'moving' from the areas of Medinet Habu and the Ramesseum toward Deir al-Bahari; see Aston, "The Theban West Bank from the Twenty-fifth Dynasty to the Ptolemaic Period," in *The Theban Necropolis: Past, Present and Future*, edited by Nigel Strudwick and John H. Taylor (London: The British Museum Press, 2003), 138–66, figs. 1, 4, 8.
- 26 Eigner, *Die monumentalen Grabbauten der Spätzeit*, 41–42; personal communications with Eigner during the seasons of 2010 and 2011.
- 27 Török, *The Kingdom of Kush*, 168.
- 28 Steven Snape, "Khaemwese and the Present Past: History of the Individual in Ramesside Egypt," in *Ramesside Studies in Honour of K.A. Kitchen*, edited by Mark Collier and Steven Snape (Bolton: Rutherford Press Limited, 2011), 465–73.
- 29 Snape, "Khaemwese and the Present Past," 470.
- 30 Snape, "Khaemwese and the Present Past," 465.
- 31 Snape, "Khaemwese and the Present Past," 467.
- 32 Snape, "Khaemwese and the Present Past," 470.
- 33 Martin Ullmann, "Thebes: Origins of a Ritual Landscape," in *Sacred Space and Sacred Function in Ancient Thebes*, edited by Peter F. Dorman and Betsey M. Bryan (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2007), 3.
- 34 On western Thebes c. 750–700 BC, see Aston, "The Theban West Bank," 138–43.
- 35 Aston, "The Theban West Bank," 146.
- 36 Eigner, *Die monumentalen Grabbauten der Spätzeit*, 33–34.
- 37 For western Thebes c. 650–525 BC, see Aston, "The Theban West Bank," 150.
- 38 Although the semi-ruined structure of the Hatshepsut temple was used for numerous burials from the late Twenty-second to the Twenty-sixth Dynasties, Pinch suggests, based on the number and character of offerings found in the temple as well as the fact that Hathor, Lady of the Djeseru, features prominently on Theban coffins of the Third Intermediate Period, that the upper terrace probably still functioned as a temple of Hathor and her cult probably continued at Deir al-Bahari. Pinch also notes that although the Hathor shrine may have fallen into disuse by the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, the Beautiful Festival of the Valley was still celebrated at Deir al-Bahari during this period. The goddess was still associated with the site in the Ptolemaic period, see Geraldine Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, 1993), 9; Manfred Bietak and Elfriede Reiser-Haslauer, *Das Grab des Anch-Hor. Obersthofmeister der Gottesgemahlin Nitokris*. Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes 4, 5, Vol. 1 (Vienna: Verl. der Öster. Akad. der Wiss., 1978–82), 29.
- 39 See note 8.

- 40 For the theological concept of Kushite tomb decoration, see Pischikova, “Style and Iconography of the Decoration in the Tombs of Karabasken and Karakhamun: Archaism and Innovation,” in this volume.
- 41 Richard A. Parker et al., *The Edifice of Tabarqa by the Sacred Lake of Karnak*. Brown Egyptological Studies 8 (Providence, RI: Brown University Press, 1979), 21–22; Kathlyn M. Cooney, “The Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake: Ritual Function and the Role of the King,” *JARCE* 37 (2000): 40, n. 167.
- 42 Andrzej Nawiński, “The Solar–Osirian Unity as Principle of the Theology of the ‘State of Amun’ in Thebes in the 21st Dynasty,” *Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux* 30 (1987–88): 89–106; Jan Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester: ein kosmographischer Begleittext zur kultischen Sonnenhymnik in thebanischen Tempeln und Gräbern*, Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo, Ägyptologische Reihe 7 (Glückstadt: Augustin, 1970); Anthea Page, *Ancient Egyptian Figured Ostraca in the Petrie Collection* (Warminster, UK: Aris & Phillips Ltd, 1983); Cooney, “The Edifice of Taharqa.”
- 43 Parker et al., *The Edifice of Tabarqa*, 37–48.
- 44 The text of BD 15h and its vignette were extensively reconstructed by Kenneth Griffin and a group of the South Asasif Conservation Project conservators during the 2012–13 seasons.
- 45 Cooney, “The Edifice of Taharqa,” 34.
- 46 Eigner, *Die monumentalen Grabbauten der Spätzeit*, 169–83; Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer, *Das Grab des ‘Anch-Hor*, 19–37.
- 47 Dows Dunham, *Nuri*, The Royal Cemeteries of Kush II (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1955), 6–16.
- 48 Leclant, *Recherches sur les monuments thébains*, 262–92; Richard A. Fazzini, *Egypt Dynasty XXII–XXV*, Iconography of Religions, Section 16: Egypt, 10, Institute of Religious Iconography, State University of Groningen (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988), 20–25; Donald B. Redford, “An Interim Report on the Second Season of Work at the Temple of Osiris, Ruler of Eternity, Karnak,” *JEA* 59 (1973): 20; Nicolas Imbert, “La restauration de la chapelle d’Osiris Heqa-djet,” *Cahiers de Karnak* 11 (2003), 469–86; Claude Traunecker, “La chapelle d’Osiris ‘seigneur de l’éternité-neheh’ à Karnak,” in *Le culte d’Osiris au 1er millénaire av. J.-C.: découvertes et travaux récents; actes de la Table ronde internationale tenue à Lyon, Maison de l’Orient et de la Méditerranée (Université Lumière-Lyon 2) les 8 et 9 juillet 2005*, edited by Laurent Coulon (Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 2010), 155–94.
- 49 Török, *The Kingdom of Kush*, 137–42, Tables J, K, L.
- 50 Restoration and building work was done at the Small Temple and Amun of Djeme Temple at Medinet Habu during the reign of Shabaqo and Taharqo, see Török, *The Kingdom of Kush*, 137. For the Festival of the Decades, see Cooney, “The Edifice of Taharqa,” 34–37, n.130.
- 51 Ullmann, “Thebes,” 9.
- 52 Parker et al., *The Edifice of Tabarqa*, 82.
- 53 Stephen Quirke, *The Cult of Ra: Sun-Worship in Ancient Egypt* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2001), especially the chapter “The Sun Cult and the Measurement of Time,”

- which includes information on the *Books of the Night and the Day* in different monuments and *Book of the Dead* chapters associated with them, as well as the solar cult in the Edifice of Taharqo.
- 54 Open Sun Court of the Edifice of Taharqo, probably already realized by Shabaqo, see Parker et al., *The Edifice of Taharqo*, 1–10.
- 55 Quirke, *The Cult of Ra*, 115, 133–34, see “Pyramids and Obelisks.”
- 56 For a bibliography and major research concepts, see Friederike Kampp-Seyfried, “The Theban Necropolis: The Overview of Topography and Tomb Development from the Middle Kingdom to the Ramesside Period,” in *The Theban Necropolis: Past, Present and Future*, edited by Nigel Strudwick and John H. Taylor (London: The British Museum Press, 2003), 10; Jan Assmann, “The Ramesside Tomb and the Construction of Sacred Space,” in *The Theban Necropolis: Past, Present and Future*, 46–52; Steven Snape, “Samut and the Ramesside Private Tomb,” in *Ancient Egyptian Tombs: The Culture of Life and Death* (Malden, MA; Oxford: Blackwell Ancient Relig.; Wiley–Blackwell, 2011), 223–32.
- 57 Snape, *Ancient Egyptian Tombs*, 223–24. Snape notes that the new solar element is expressed in Ramesside tombs in architecture (small pyramids, funerary cones, stelophorous statues with solar hymns), graphic elements (scenes of the deceased shown with the solar barque crossing the sky and images of the deceased bathed in golden light), and textual elements (hymns to the sun).
- 58 Jan Assmann, “Das Grab mit gewundenem Abstieg: zum Typenwandel des Privat-Felsgrabes im Neuen Reich,” *MDAIK* 40 (1984): 282–84.
- 59 Assmann, “The Ramesside Tomb,” 46–52, especially 48.
- 60 Nigel Strudwick, “Change and Continuity at Thebes: The Private Tomb after Akhenaten,” in *The Unbroken Reed: Studies in the Culture and Heritage of Ancient Egypt in Honour of A.F. Shore*, edited by Antony Leahy et al. (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1994), 330.
- 61 Strudwick, “Change and Continuity at Thebes,” 330–31.
- 62 Strudwick, “Change and Continuity at Thebes,” 331.
- 63 Kampp-Seyfried, “The Theban Necropolis,” 10.
- 64 Kampp-Seyfried, “The Theban Necropolis,” 10. For the concept of Late Period temple-tomb see Julia Budka, “Totenkult im Tempelgrab. Zu rituellen Handlungen in Elitegräbern des 1. Jahrtausends v. Chr. in Theben (Ägypten)” in *Grabrituale und Jenseitsvorstellungen*, ed. Gerhard Thürr. Origines 3. (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, forthcoming.)
- 65 See Eigner, “Karakhamun Revisited: Some Remarks on the Architecture of TT 223,” figure 2, in this volume.
- 66 Quirke, *The Cult of Ra*, 131.
- 67 Bertha Porter and Rosalind L.B. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings* 1, The Theban Necropolis Part 1, Private Tombs (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1994), 324.
- 68 Drawings by Hay show the remains of the some of the tomb’s architectural features (BL Mss. Add. 29 848, 77, Abb. 16). Wilkinson’s observations, made around the same time, left little hope that anything would remain intact for long. Describing his visit to the tomb, he mentions bringing down “half of a doorway by merely placing [his] hand

- against it" (J. Wilkinson, MSS, v. 176); see also Eigner, *Die monumentalen Grabbauten der Spätzeit*, 41–42; PM I, 1, Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* 1, 1, 324.
- 69 Richard K. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien, Text herausgegeben von Eduard Naville*, 5 vols. (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1897–1913), 3, *Text*, 288, pl. 282d. Lepsius copied a fragment of Chapter 104 from a pillar (NP3) of the Second Pillared Hall; a few decades later, the same text was copied by a Russian Egyptologist and collector, Vladimir Golenishchev (identified by Kenneth Griffin), see PM I.1, 324.
- 70 Berlin Museum (2110), see Heinrich Schäfer and Walter Andrae, *Die Kunst des alten Orients*, PKG 2 (Berlin: Propyläen-Verlag, 1942), fig. 450 (lower); Richard Hamann, *Ägyptische Kunst: Wesen und Geschichte* (Berlin: Knaur, 1944), Abb. 314; PM I.1, 318 (plan), 324.
- 71 Eigner, *Die monumentalen Grabbauten der Spätzeit*, 17, 41–42, figs. 15, 16, pls. 14B, 20A, plans 9, 28; for his first visit to the tomb, see Eigner's chapter, "Karakhamun Revisited: Some Remarks on the Architecture of TT 223," in this volume.
- 72 Eigner, *Die monumentalen Grabbauten der Spätzeit*, 41.
- 73 Eigner, *Die monumentalen Grabbauten der Spätzeit*, 16, 40–41, figs. 14, 15, pl. 14A, plans 8, 28.
- 74 Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, no. 96, 37.
- 75 Two previously published photographs of the tomb of Karabasken provide clear evidence of its decaying state, see Eigner, *Die monumentalen Grabbauten der Spätzeit*, pl. 14A; Christopher Naunton, "Tebe durante la XXV Dinastia," in *L'Enigma di Harwa*, edited by Silvia Einaudi and Francesco Tiradritti (Milan: Anthelios, 2004), 87.
- 76 Eigner, *Die monumentalen Grabbauten der Spätzeit*, 120–23; Dieter Arnold, *The Encyclopedia of Ancient Egyptian Architecture* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2003), 76–77. Arnold describes this element in Late Period tombs as often decorated with reed matting, having "the appearance of the primeval sanctuary."
- 77 See also figure 1 in Eigner, "Karakhamun Revisited: Some Remarks on the Architecture of TT 223," in this volume.
- 78 See Eigner, "Karakhamun Revisited: Some Remarks on the Architecture of TT 223," in this volume.
- 79 Nearly three thousand more fragments were found in the open court during the 2012 season. A considerable number of them came from the Second Pillared Hall.
- 80 Dunham, *Nuri*, No. 3. I am grateful to Julia Budka for this reference.
- 81 John H. Taylor, "Theban Coffins from the Twenty-second to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty: Dating, and Synthesis of Development," in *The Theban Necropolis: Past, Present and Future*, edited by Nigel Strudwick and John H. Taylor (London: The British Museum Press, 2003), pl. 73.
- 82 Edna R. Russmann, "The Motive of Bound Papyrus and the Decorative Program in Mentuemhat's First Court (Further Remarks on the Decoration of the Tomb of Mentuemhat, 1)," *JARCE* 32 (1995): 117–26.
- 83 Personal communication with Dieter Eigner, August 2012.
- 84 Ten plaques found in the debris probably fell out of their sockets.
- 85 The condition of the tomb of Karakhamun probably forced Nespakashuty to change his plans and concentrate on his other project, the tomb at Deir al-Bahari (TT 312), where he was probably buried, see Elena Pischikova, "Reliefs from the Tomb of the Vizier Nespakashuty," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 33 (1998): 57–101.

- 86 For the discussion of C14 and a bibliography for this tomb, see Lise Manniche, *Lost Ramesside and Post-Ramesside Private Tombs of the Theban Necropolis* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum, 2011), 90.
- 87 Personal observations and recording made in 2009.
- 88 For the later reuse of the tombs, see the chapters by Budka, “Pottery from the Tomb of Karakhamun (TT 223),” and Ikram, “A Preliminary Note on the Faunal Remains from the South Asasif Conservation Project,” in this volume.

4

Style and Iconography of the Decoration in the Tombs of Karabasken and Karakhamun: Archaism and Innovations

Elena Pischikova

Archaism as one of the most important factors of Late Period Theban tomb decoration has been recognized since the beginning of the twentieth century.¹ Numerous studies analyzing this 'phenomenon' in the late tombs of Asasif have made the Theban necropolis one of the main sources for the exploration of the occurrence of 'archaism' in Egyptian art.² Such attention to the Asasif necropolis is understandable, as it is a solid and relatively accessible body of material. Furthermore, due to the long interruption in building private decorated tombs in Thebes during the Third Intermediate Period, the return to this practice under the Kushite pharaohs is usually seen as an astounding revival of the past. What should not be forgotten is that this derivation from the past during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty was an occurrence of much wider scope geographically, culturally, and politically. Geographically, it covers all of Egypt, including numerous necropolises in Middle and Lower Egypt.³ Revival of the past was a significant factor in the political and religious spheres of Kushite rule.⁴ Culturally, it cannot be separated from traditions of the Third Intermediate Period, and therefore Kushite art can be seen, at least partially, as a continuation of ancient Egyptian traditions and not entirely as the revival of a forgotten past.⁵ Archaism of the Late Period should be viewed as part of the universal factor of archaism in Egyptian culture that had revealed itself in the early Old Kingdom.⁶ It may have more direct connections to the archaistic trends of the Ramesside and Libyan periods.⁷

One of the most important tasks in studying archaism is finding a specific prototype for a particular scene's iconography, style, or subject matter. If the prototype can be found and proven as such, the later imitation can then be seen part of the archaistic trend and not simply of the established tradition. In many cases, a prototype cannot be found because it is still unknown or no longer exists. Yet specific

iconographic features, a style uncharacteristic for the necropolis, or the revival of a motif long forgotten and fallen out of the contemporary tradition can place a monument into the archaizing category. Finding a specific prototype provides an opportunity to analyze the changes made by a late artist and to understand the new interpretation given to an old scene.

Although there are a number of scenes, motifs, and even small details that traveled from one tomb to another within a necropolis, and even to different necropolises of the same time period, every Late Period tomb is unique in a different way. This uniqueness reveals itself in the details of a tomb's architecture, variety in its decorative programs, inclusion of rare scenes, individuality of carving style, and sources of inspiration. There are no two identical tombs or even very similar ones. Although they may share certain features in their architecture and decorative program, tombs of the Late Period manifest individual choices, tastes, and preferences. Individual inclinations are very visible in sources of inspiration and style of execution for daily-life scenes.⁸ Even within the same New Kingdom necropolis, Late Period artists would choose their 'favorite' tombs. Mentuemhat discovered small rare scenes in the tomb of Menna (TT 69), Basa and Ankh-Hor demonstrate a close knowledge of the tomb of Puimre (TT 39), and Pabasa clearly examined the tomb of Rekhmire (TT 100).⁹

Variety is seen even in the differences in the emphasis placed on a certain deity or group of deities in various tombs. As Late Period tombs clearly show temple features in their architecture and decoration, the focal point of a tomb is usually a niche with a divine image.¹⁰ Most of the Late Period mortuary complexes are dedicated to Osiris, yet the three tombs of Nespakashuty, Basa, and Ibi demonstrate a strong devotion to Hathor.¹¹

Every tomb shows the strong involvement of an individual whose personal preferences are reflected in the tomb decoration. It can be a tomb owner or an appointed supervisor who designed a tomb's decorative program and was responsible for the overall concept of the funerary complex. The suggestion that the person in question was a tomb owner allows for the re-creation of the process of tomb design in the Late Period. Already in the Ramesside period, with the growing importance of personal piety, such concepts as "monumental self-presentation," "personal identification with individuals from the past," "constructing an identity through association with ancestors," and "making relevant an ancient past" could be observed.¹² The Kushite period developed these concepts to the extreme, as its culture was ultimately based on the personal perception of the past and its interpretation. The long interruption and then return of the tradition of building large decorated tombs in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty must have made the artists very aware of their decisions and actions. As the late Ramesside tradition was interrupted, there was no 'instinctive impulse' to follow. Every step had to be a product of research and contemplation. The process of creating the program of a tomb's decoration had to involve visiting 'ancient monuments' and choosing scenes based on their importance and personal taste. Although archaism is one of the most important and basic

features of Egyptian art and culture throughout its long history, the Late Period is the clearest example of people turning to the past, interpreting it, and appreciating it. Intellectuals of this time demonstrate real connoisseurship in the field of ancient Egyptian art. Late Period tombs, besides combining the functions of a mortuary complex and divine temple, were immense collections of styles, scenes, and motifs from every great period of the past. In the last capacity, late tombs assumed the function of museum spaces.

Theban tomb art of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty was markedly influenced by Old Kingdom prototypes. During the Kushite period, individuals visited temples and mortuary complexes in the north and copied their decoration. Grid lines of copyists in the south tomb of Djoser and in the Fifth Dynasty mortuary temples in Abusir were probably left by Theban artists rather than local ones.¹³ Theban Twenty-sixth Dynasty tomb art shows a growing interest in New Kingdom tomb and temple art in the area.

In any event, Late Period tombs of both north and south demonstrate similar tendencies to reinterpret private mortuary complexes by combining features of private tombs from every great period of the past with New Kingdom royal tombs and Old, Middle, and New Kingdom royal mortuary complexes and divine temples. As a result, tombs of the Late Period appear as private divine temples where a tomb owner performs the role of a worshiper seeking divine protection. In most cases, ancient features such as a false door were replaced by a niche with a divine image.¹⁴ Thus, on every level, from representation of objects to the concept of the whole mortuary complex, Late Period artists did not simply borrow; they reinterpreted ancient scenes, motifs, and images in their own ways, filling them with their own perceptions of death and salvation. As a result, archaistic trends of this period appear to be an innovative development rather than ‘living in the past.’

Archaism in Late Period tombs can be recorded and analyzed on a number of levels that are different in their scope and significance:

1. Theological concept of the tomb's architecture and decoration
2. Choice of primary sources for imagery and inscriptions
3. Iconography and paleography of individual scenes and inscriptions
3. Facial characteristics of major and minor figures
4. Iconography of garments and adornments
5. Iconography of the representations of animals and objects
6. Style and technique of carving, painting, and drawing

These levels are analyzed in different chapters of this publication, although bringing together all the archaizing elements of the tombs is not its focus.

Images of Karabasken

The two images of Karabasken at the entrance to the Pillared Hall are relatively well-preserved (fig. 4.1). Unfortunately, the quality of limestone in this area does



Fig. 4.1. Karabasken.
Entrance to the pil-
lared hall, South Jamb.
Tomb of Karabasken.
*Photo Katherine
Blakeney, SACP*

not allow very precise carving. Some adjustments already had to be made in the process of carving. Traces of ancient restoration are numerous. In some areas stone had to be replaced with slabs of stronger limestone. Later floods affected the stone and mortar. Expanded mortar separated areas of carving and the figures now look slightly distorted. Furthermore, the surface of the stone was severely damaged by moisture. Eroded and flaky, it has lost any traces of modeling. All we have are the outlines of the figure and certain elements of the attire. The face is lost in both cases. Despite all this damage, the iconography of the images is reliably visible (fig. 4.2).

Karabasken is depicted in the style and iconography of the Old Kingdom.¹⁵ He is shown seated on a lion-legged chair with a short back and a papyrus umbel behind. He is dressed in a short pleated skirt and a priestly pelt vest supported by a sash tied at the shoulder with a large elaborate knot with long ends. Another addition to his outfit is a broad collar and a double amulet on a string. He wears a shoulder-length striated wig, which is well visible, but the surface of the limestone in the area of the face has deteriorated so much that only the general outlines of his face can be traced. The paw placed on the shoulder of the tomb owner is the first example of the new iconographic version of an ancient motif. A double amulet, consisting of two overlapping drop-shaped elements on a long cord, is the only 'contemporary' element of his attire. This amulet returned to popularity in the Kushite and Saite

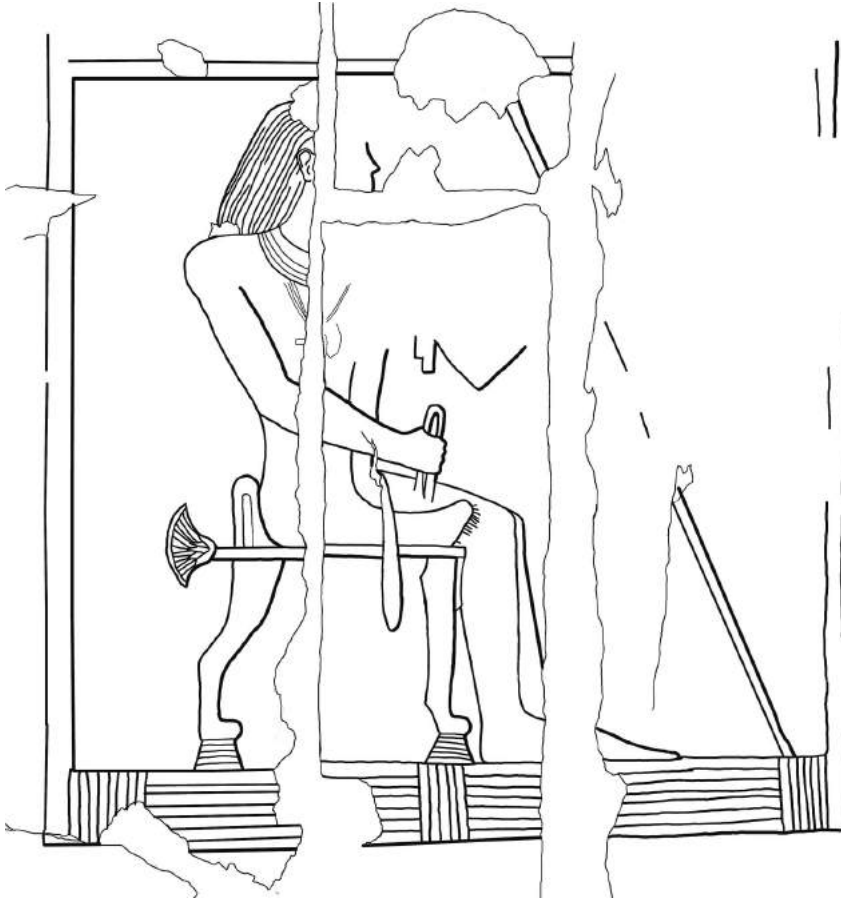


Fig. 4.2. Karabasken. Entrance to the pillared hall, South Jamb. Tomb of Karabasken. Drawing Katherine Blakeney, SACP

periods, though most scholars see it as an archaizing reference to an Old Kingdom version.¹⁶ Although occasionally attested in the Middle and New Kingdoms, the double amulet becomes an essential part of the tomb owner's attire only in Kushite and Saite tombs.¹⁷ In fact, Karabasken is likely to be the earliest known example. The amulet's symbolic meaning and the reasons for its popularity in the Late Period remain unclear.

Karabasken's stylistic and iconographic preferences could have been influenced by his activities in Thebes. He probably supervised the building projects of Shabaqo at Karnak, Luxor temple, and Medinet Habu.¹⁸ Images of Shabaqo in the Luxor temple are carved in a distinctive Old Kingdom style and could have reinforced Karabasken's stylistic preferences.¹⁹

Images of Karakhamun

The east wall of the First Pillared Hall features the remains of two symmetrically opposed offering scenes of Karakhamun, seated at an offering table, with an offering list above. The two-register composition to the right displays a procession of offering bearers in the second register and performance of offering rituals in the register below. Almost completely destroyed on the south part of the wall, this scene is unexpectedly well-preserved on the north section (fig. 4.3).

Similar to Karabasken, Karakhamun is also represented in Old Kingdom iconography. He is portrayed with a broad-shouldered torso, narrow waist, heavily muscled legs, closely cropped hair, and bare feet. He sits on a bovine-legged chair resting on a double pedestal, with a short back and a papyrus umbel behind it. He is depicted in a pleated kilt and broad collar. The rounded head has full cheeks, a broad nose with 'Kushite folds' at its sides, protruding lips with small ridges of flesh at the corners, and a short chin; features shared by many Kushite images.²⁰ However, every Kushite king had an individual portrait image created for him with unique stylistic and iconographic features. It is especially visible in royal images carved in relief. For the early Kushite period, they form a more solid group than sculpture, where many images remain questionable due to the lack of inscriptions.²¹ The best-preserved relief images of Shabaqo are in Luxor temple, on the naos from Esna, and in the temple of Ptah and his treasury in Karnak.²² Most of Shabaqo's faces feature plastically rendered brows with long cosmetic lines widening at the corners.²³ His nose is straight and large and the

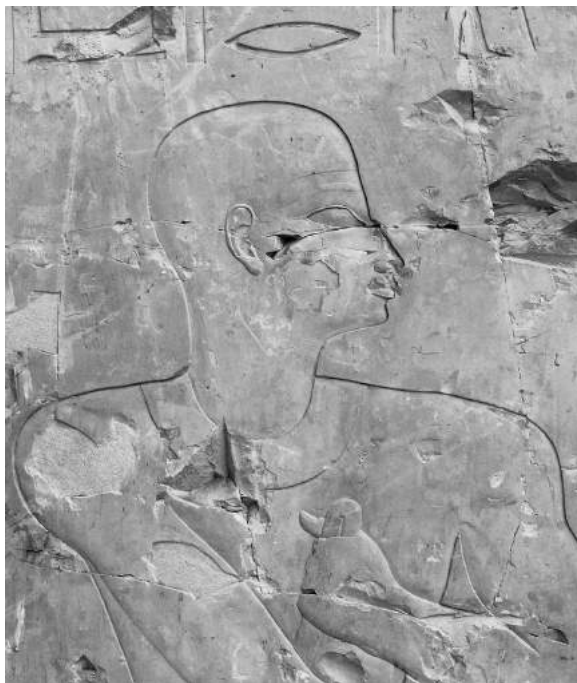


Fig. 4.3. Head of Karakhamun. East wall, First Pillared Hall. Tomb of Karakhamun. Photo Katherine Blakeney, SACP

lips protrude forward almost as far as the nose.²⁴ He favored high relief with rounded edges, few details, and rough modeling. His faces emanate energy, strength, and power. Kushite features are emphasized. Deep folds and depressions around eyes, nose, and mouth create shadowy areas and present all the facial features as separate units.

There are fewer known images of Shebitqo, but they are very distinctive and present a different version of the Kushite royal image.²⁵ Shebitqo's head assumes a more elongated shape than Shabako's, with a less rounded back of the head. Shabako's short, muscled neck is replaced with a thinner and longer column-like shape. Shebitqo's lips are smaller, fuller, and less protruding. The nose loses some of its fleshiness, becomes smaller, and is upturned with a pointier tip. The eyes are large and slightly slanted, with an elegantly carved, thin upper rim extending to a short pointed cosmetic line. In general, Shebitqo's face lacks the energetic and exaggerated features of Shabako and is more harmoniously composed and serene. The carving of Shebitqo's images is lower in relief, more detailed, and more delicate than Shabako's.

Karakhamun's facial features allow more precise dating when they are compared to royal relief images. Although idealized, his features allow precise dating within the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, placing the tomb within the reign of Shebitqo rather than of Shabako (fig. 4.4). Karakhamun's face features a short nose with a slightly upturned tip, small full lips, and almond-shaped eyes, with a thin, pointed cosmetic line. The elongation of the neck endows his face with an elegance and sophistication that brings it closer to Shebitqo rather than Shabako. The former well-preserved image in the chapel of Osiris Heqa-Djet in Karnak displays features that may have inspired Karakhamun to emulate them.²⁶ Taharqo goes back to the more powerful, energetic image of Shabako, which is reflected in the portraits of Harwa and Mentuemhat. Therefore, the image of Karakhamun is an important factor in dating his tomb.



Fig. 4.4. Fragments of the head of Karakhamun. Tomb of Karakhamun. *Photo Katherine Blakeney, SACP*



Fig. 4.5. Dog of Karakhamun. East wall, First Pillared Hall. Tomb of Karakhamun. *Photo Katherine Blakeney, SACP*

Archaizing features of the tomb's decoration

The archaism of the tomb decoration reveals itself in a number of ancient motifs which were derived from the Old and Middle Kingdoms and reintroduced and reinterpreted in a new tomb space. One of these is placing the tomb owner's dog under his chair in the offering scene (fig. 4.5). The dog on the north section of the east wall is carved in sunk relief with sharpness, precision, and sophisticated modeling, particularly noticeable on the muzzle, chest, and hind leg areas. The animal's powerful musculature resembles the treatment of Karakhamun's legs. The elongated eye is rimmed with a long cosmetic line almost reaching the collar; the dog's long slender nose is slightly exaggerated. Upright pointed ears and a long tail twisted into four coils complement the image of the dog of Karakhamun. Another dog image from the south section of the east wall survives only in small fragments.



Fig. 4.6. Sacred oil jar under the chair of Karakhamun. Second Pillared Hall. Tomb of Karakhamun. *Photo Katherine Blakeney, SACP*

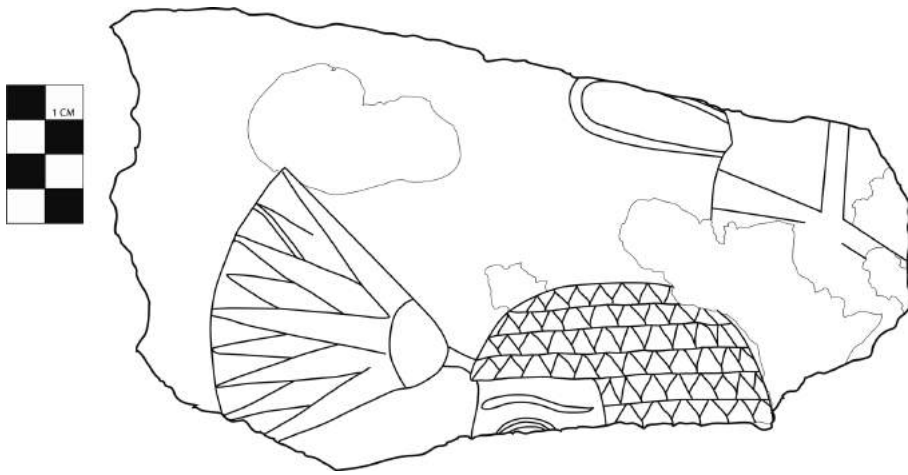


Fig. 4.7. Fragment of the head of an offering bearer. Tomb of Karakhamun. Drawing Katherine Blakeney, SACP

Another influential archaizing feature reintroduced by Karakhamun is a sacred oil jar placed under the chair of the tomb owner (fig. 4.6). The north section of the east wall shows a jar for *hknw*-oil covered with a lotus flower. Though the south section of the wall is almost completely destroyed, numerous fragments of the damaged relief decoration found among the debris allow the reconstruction of a substantial part of it. The second offering scene had an image of a *hknw*-oil jar under Karakhamun's chair as well. Both scenes also include a group of jars containing oil, labeled as *h3tt nt thnw*, under the offering table. It appears that the tomb of Karakhamun displays the earliest Kushite example of a sacred oil jar placed under the chair of a tomb owner. This convention became a key feature of Late Period private tomb decoration.²⁷ Before the latest discoveries in the tomb of Karakhamun, the earliest known examples of this iconography were found in the tombs of Mentuemhat (TT 34) and Petamenophis (TT 33). The placement of the sacred oil jars under the tomb owner's chair most probably emphasizes the concept of receiving power for resurrection and rebirth in the afterlife through being anointed with seven sacred oils, another example of Old Kingdom iconography.²⁸

Representations of offering bearers in the tomb of Karakhamun display an original interpretation of the Old Kingdom iconography (fig. 4.7). A characteristic example is a female offering bearer in a dress supported with a shoulder strap and an elaborate knot (fig. 4.8). A knotted strap is a popular feature of Old Kingdom garments, and traditionally appears on divine or royal garments, fecundity figures, and personifications of estates in royal temples.²⁹ Offering bearers in Old Kingdom private tombs wore smooth-strapped dresses.³⁰ After a long interval, the complicated knot reappears in the Third Intermediate Period on royal and divine garments.³¹ Prior to the discoveries in Karakhamun's tomb, the earliest Late



Fig. 4.8. Fragment of an offering bearer. East wall, northeast pilaster, First Pillared Hall. Tomb of Karakhamun. Photo Katherine Blakeney, SACP



Fig. 4.9. Fragment of an offering bearer. East wall, northeast pilaster, First Pillared Hall. Tomb of Karakhamun. Photo Katherine Blakeney, SACP



Fig. 4.10. Fragment of an offering bearer with a bird on a leash. East wall, northeast pilaster, First Pillared Hall. Tomb of Karakhamun. *Photo Katherine Blakeney, SACP*

Period representation of a dress with a strap knot on an offering bearer in a private tomb was found in the tomb of Mentuemhat; but Karakhamun provides an earlier example of the reuse of this royal feature.³² It is possible that this Old Kingdom knot had a ritual or symbolic meaning that was forgotten in the Late Period, or was reused in private tombs because its meaning was understood.

The types of offerings and the manner of holding them by the offering bearers in the tomb of Karakhamun reflect Old Kingdom iconography as well. For example, a fragment of a figure of a female offering bearer found in the tomb displays the traditional manner of holding a duck by grasping its legs and pressing the bird to her chest with her other arm (fig. 4.9).

Another scene of an offering bearer leading a large bird is also a reference to Old Kingdom iconography and its revival in contemporary royal Kushite tombs (fig. 4.10). The scene, originally located on the northeast pilaster of the First Pillared Hall, was found in a few fragments. The remains of the scene allow a reconstruction of it as an offering bearer leading a bird by a leash attached to its leg. The back part of it is missing, making the bird difficult to identify. The treatment of the feathers of the wings as rounded scales is characteristic of ostrich images, but the beak is more reminiscent of a stork or crane.³³ The iconography and style of the carving show the influence of Old Kingdom scenes of offering or hunting ostriches that reappeared in Middle and New Kingdom tombs.³⁴ Karakhamun's offering scene is also evocative of an offering bearer leading an ostrich on an ivory plaque from Shabaqo's al-Kurru burial.³⁵ The two scenes are very close stylistically, perhaps



Fig. 4.11. Group of deities. Northeast Pillar (N 5), First Pillared Hall. Tomb of Karakhamun. Photo Katherine Blakeney, SACP

reflecting Old Kingdom inspiration or influence on contemporary Kushite funerary art as evidenced on their monuments in Egypt.

Style and Technique of Relief Carving

One of the main technical innovations introduced in the tomb of Karakhamun is a reformed grid system. As the tomb was never completed, the grid lines are preserved on a number of reliefs in the Second Pillared Hall. During his visit to the tomb, Lepsius recorded a standing figure of Karakhamun's brother Nesamenopet covered in grid lines.³⁶ The tomb was already so ruined by the early nineteenth century that none of the early explorers recorded it as a two pillared hall structure; therefore, Lepsius did not have a chance to record the exact place in the tomb where the figure was found. The remains of this figure (only the legs) were found in situ in 2011 on the south wall of the Second Pillared Hall. Lepsius's drawing provided guidelines for reassembling some additional fragments of the figure found in debris. His attention was attracted by the fact that the figure was drawn using a 21-square grid instead of the traditional 18. Lepsius dated the tomb of Karakhamun to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, not recognizing it as an earlier example of a modified grid.³⁷ Recent excavation in the tomb of Karakhamun brought to light numerous carved and painted fragments with traces of grid lines. The only complete scene with grid lines found to date shows three overlapping figures of deities from the top of pillar four in the north aisle of the First Pillared Hall

(fig. 4.11). Reconstructed from numerous fragments, this scene confirms Lepsius's observation that the decoration was based on a 21-square grid system. The offering scene on the north wall of the Second Pillared Hall also retains traces of the new grid system (fig. 4.12). In their discussion of the late grid system, Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer believed Mentuemhat was the earliest private tomb utilizing the new grid.³⁸

The striking differences in style and quality of carving in different areas of the tomb allow us to assume that the tomb was decorated by a substantial number of artists organized in teams under the supervision of more experienced artists. The teams certainly included artists of various qualifications, from skilled artists to inexperienced apprentices and simply unqualified assistants. The best-carved areas give examples of the highest quality known in Kushite tombs (figs. 4.13 and 4.14).

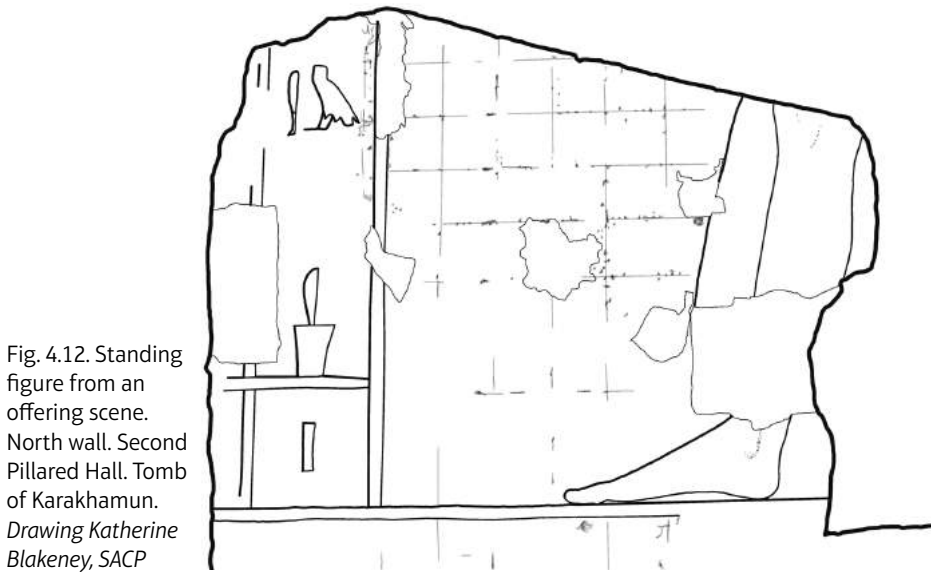


Fig. 4.12. Standing figure from an offering scene. North wall. Second Pillared Hall. Tomb of Karakhamun. Drawing Katherine Blakeney, SACP

The unfinished areas in different parts of the tomb show that all the walls were covered with grids and even the masters did not risk free-hand compositions, which is dissimilar to New Kingdom practice.³⁹ Taylor notes that the major artist could organize his crew as he wished, to address the demands of the project.⁴⁰

It seems in Karakhamun's case, the master artist did not have enough skilled artists in the area to employ for such a monumental project. With the considerable period of interruption in building and decorating large private tombs in the Theban necropolis, there could have been a shortage of trained artists due to the lack of employment opportunities. With the revival of large-scale projects in the area, many of the young apprentices had to be trained on the job. Parts of the tomb, such as the west wall of the Second Pillared Hall, show a large range of skills and manners of carving, varying from very sure and precise to very irregular and hardly readable.

Skillful artists who supervised the teams working in different areas clearly came from different backgrounds and show different stylistic preferences and manners of carving. The offering scene of Karakhamun on the east wall of the First Pillared Hall features shallow, precise sunk relief with elegant outlines, sharp edges, and sophisticated modeling. The same artist could have worked on the procession of deities on the thickness of the entrance to the Second Pillared Hall and the procession of offering bearers on the pilasters of the First Pillared Hall. He shows Old Kingdom preferences in proportions, compositions, details, and modeling.

The figure of Karakhamun on the inner jamb of the entrance to the Second Pillared Hall is slenderer in proportions and lower in carving, reminiscent of the stylistic preferences of the Middle Kingdom (fig. 4.15). Remains of the figure of Karakhamun and his offering scenes on the south wall of the Second Pillared Hall



Fig. 4.13. Head of Ra-Horakhty. Tomb of Karakhamun. *Photo Katherine Blakeney, SACP*

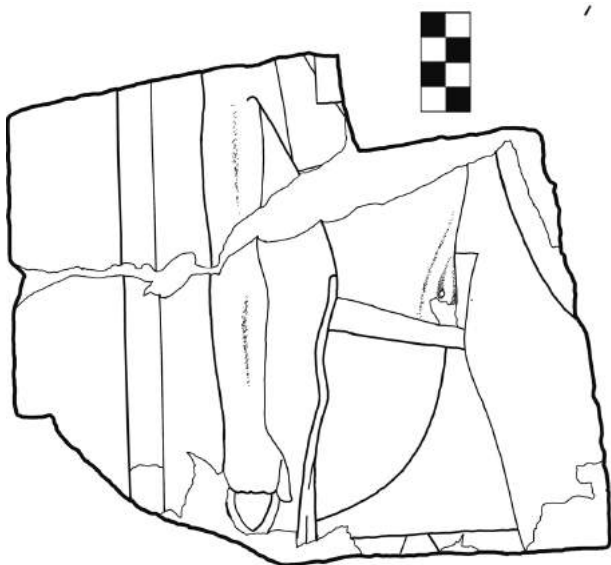


Fig. 4.14. Fragment of the figure of a deity. Tomb of Karakhamun. *Drawing Katherine Blakeney, SACP*



Fig. 4.15. Head of Karakhamun. Second Pillared Hall. Tomb of Karakhamun. *Photo Katherine Blakeney, SACP*

demonstrate the deepest carving in the whole tomb (fig. 4.16). Deep carving on the torso with rounded edges, bold modeling, and dramatic shadows creates an almost three-dimensional effect, which makes it stand out among the tomb decoration. The offering bearers' procession from the west wall of the Second Pillared Hall features slender proportions, less modeling, and more ornamentally arranged offerings, more in the taste of the New Kingdom than the more austere figures of the First Pillared Hall (fig. 4.17).

It is possible to suggest that some of the artists were local and some could have been employed from the north. Karakhamun certainly had the means to invest in the creation of a monumental and exquisitely designed mortuary complex and could choose his own artists.

Russman assumed that northern artists employed by Taharqo to work in Kawa temple, and therefore traveling to the south, could stop off in the Theban area and execute the scenes of daily life in the tomb of Harwa, as their style and iconography betrays a very good knowledge of Old Kingdom prototypes.⁴¹ The finding of daily-life scenes in the tomb of Karakhamun executed in pronounced Old Kingdom style suggests a different possibility. Harwa's scenes were not created by chance by a team of northern artists on a royal mission. Rather, the high officials of the time



Fig. 4.16. Torso of Karakhamun. Northwall. Second Pillared Hall. Tomb of Karakhamun. Photo Katherine Blakeney, SACP



Fig. 4.17. Offering bearer. West wall, Second Pillared Hall. Tomb of Karakhamun. Photo Katherine Blakeney, SACP

were following the royal example and inviting northern teams to decorate their tombs or parts of them. Similarly, we may suggest that Theban artists traveled to the north in search of patterns.⁴²

The artistic exchange between north and south seemed to be considerable and in both directions. The possibility of southern artists working in the north should not be ruled out. For example, the vault with a starry sky in the tomb of Bakenrenef in Saqqara, flanked by images of Bakenrenef worshipping the goddesses of the Hours of the Day and Night, repeats the arrangement of Hatshepsut's temple.⁴³ None of the Theban tombs follow Hatshepsut's pattern so exactly. The first known Late Period example of incorporating the *Texts of the Rituals of the Hours of Day and Night* into tomb decoration is the Kushite tomb of Karakhamun, where the texts were placed on the pillars of the First Pillared Hall and the scenes of worshipping on top of the pillars. This arrangement was repeated in the tomb of Harwa. Bakenrenef returns to Hatshepsut's original design instead of following the examples of his immediate predecessors at Thebes.⁴⁴ His ceiling could have been designed by Theban artists or by the northern artists who visited Thebes.

Identification of hands of certain artists throughout the tomb, classification of styles and personal manners of carving, and recreating the process of the decoration of the tomb is a work in progress. For now we can say that the tomb was carved and decorated in a relatively short amount of time by a large number of building and artistic teams, and, yet, was left unfinished. This could be evidence of Karakhamun's untimely death.

Notes

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- 5 Richard A. Fazzini, *Egypt: Dynasty XXII–XXV*, Iconography of Religions, Section 16: Egypt, 10, Institute of Religious Iconography, State University of Groningen (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988).
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- 8 Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer, *Das Grab des 'Ankh-Hor*, 235–40, pls. 62, 69; der Manuelian, *Living in the Past*, 18–24, figs. 1–2.
 - 9 Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer, *Das Grab des 'Ankh-Hor*, 237–44, figs. 113, 116, pl. 64; Elena Pischikova, “‘Mistakes’ in the Representation of Objects in Saite Reliefs of Daily Life,” *GM* 139 (1994): pl. 3.
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 - 14 Eigner, *Die monumentalen Grabbauten der Spätzeit*, 169–74.
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 - 26 Myśliwiec, *Royal Portraiture*, pl. 34.
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- 31 For the garments of Iuput II and a Kushite image of Amun-Re, see Fazzini et al., eds., *Ancient Egyptian Art in the Brooklyn Museum* (New York and London: Thames and Hudson, 1989), no. 69; Bob de Gruse, *Karnak: 3000 ans de gloire égyptienne* (Liège: Editions du Perron, 1984), 67.
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- 33 Luise Klebs, *Die Relief des alten Reiches* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1915), 65–73.
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- 35 Dows Dunham, *El Kurru*. The Royal Cemeteries of Kush I (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1950), fig. 20g.
- 36 Richard K. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien*, Text herausgegeben von Eduard Naville, 5 vols. (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1897–1913), 3, pl. 282d.
- 37 In her fundamental work on the grid system, Robins follows Lepsius in dating Karakhamun to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, see Gay Robins, *Proportion and Style in Ancient Egyptian Art* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1994), 160–61, fig. 7.2. Lepsius also noticed the new grid system in the tomb of Harwa, LD III, 245–46. The grid system in the tomb of Harwa is discussed in Russman, “Relief Decoration in Theban Private Tombs,” 125.
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- 39 Betsy M. Bryan, “Painting Techniques and Artisan Organisation in the Tomb of Suemnivet, Theban Tomb 92,” in *Colour and Painting in Ancient Egypt*, edited by W. Vivian Davies (London: The British Museum Press, 2001), 70–71: “the gridded areas were those primarily worked on by the scores of regular artists and apprentices, while the single ungridded free-hand composition was done by the master, who may also have put in outline details on major figures. Alternatively the regular artists may have done this themselves emulating the outline style of the master artist.”
- 40 John H. Taylor, “Patterns of Colouring on Ancient Egyptian Coffins from the New Kingdom to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty: An Overview,” in *Colour and Painting in Ancient Egypt*, edited W. Vivian Davies (London: The British Museum Press, 2001), 171.
- 41 The suggestion that scenes of daily life in the tomb of Harwa were executed by the team of northern artists employed by Taharqo to work in Kawa was made by Dr. Russmann; see Russmann, “Harwa as Precursor of Mentuemhat.”
- 42 One of the best known examples is the Twenty-sixth Dynasty Theban tomb of Ibi, in which some scenes from the Old Kingdom tomb of Ibi at Deir al-Gebrawi are reproduced; see der Manuelian, *Living in the Past*, figs. 5, 7, docs. 13–15.
- 43 LD III, 259; Edda Bresciani et al., eds., *Tomba di Bakenrenef (L. 24): Attività del Cantiere Scuola (1985–1987)* (Pisa: Giardini, 1988); The Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian collection, acc. no. 11.150.50.
- 44 LD III, pl. 259.

5

Ground Penetrating Radar Survey of the South Asasif Necropolis

*Adam Booth and Kasia Szpakowska**

Introduction—Basic GPR Theory

Ground penetrating radar (GPR) is one of a family of geophysical methods that allows buried objects and structures to be detected and mapped from the ground surface without the need for excavation. Under favorable circumstances, GPR provides high-resolution images of features buried at shallow depths, typically up to 5 meters, depending on the system used and the physical properties of the subsurface (fig. 5.1).

GPR systems typically comprise two antennas, connected to a control console (see fig. 5.1). One antenna is a transmitter of pulses of radio-wave energy, the other is a receiver. On transmission, these radio waves propagate through the ground until they encounter some contrast in electrical properties (that is, a change in subsurface water content or mineralogy), when they are reflected back to the ground surface and recorded at the receiving antenna. By moving the radar system across the ground, it is possible to map the spatial extent of these contrasts, and thus to infer the presence and size of an archaeological target.

The pulses of energy emitted by a GPR system are very high frequency (in this survey, our antennas radiate frequencies of 200 MHz and 500 MHz). Such high frequencies allow high-resolution imaging, but limit the depth of penetration; the higher the frequency, the more rapidly the radar energy is absorbed and the less the penetration into the ground. The presence of water and/or clay minerals in the ground also affects depth penetration; the greater the subsurface content of either substance, the smaller the depth that can be sampled.

GPR at South Asasif

As described in this volume, the South Asasif Conservation Project encompasses at least three large tombs. We were asked to use our equipment to target specific

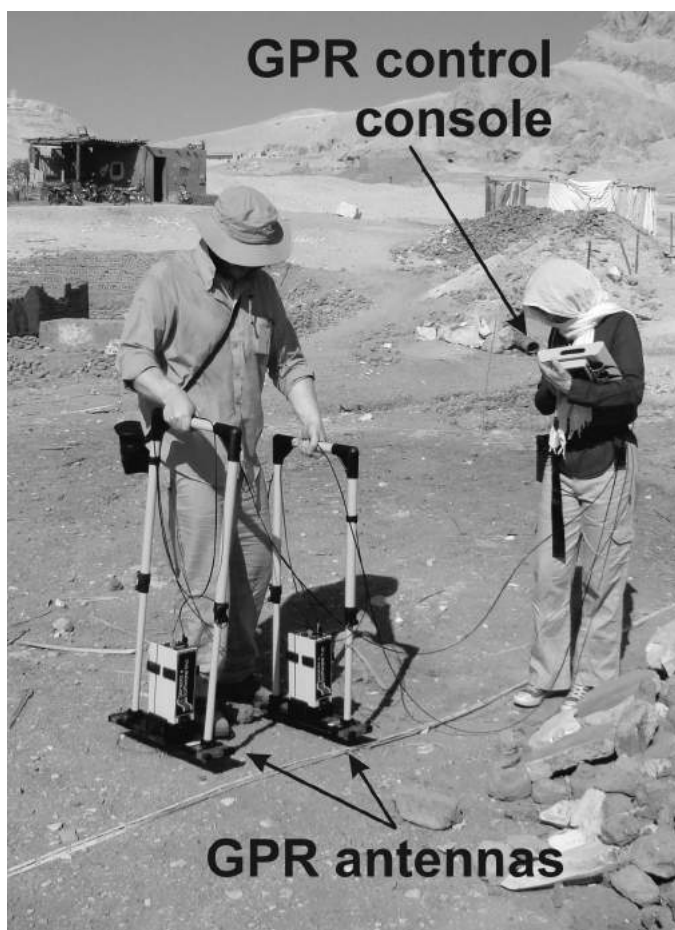


Fig. 5.1. A Sensors & Software pulseEKKO PRO GPR system in use at South Asasif, immediately east of the tomb of Karakhamun. *Photo Adam Booth*

areas. GPR methods were deployed at the South Asasif site (approximately 25.729° N, 32.6064° E), with the principal goal of detecting the eastward continuation of the tomb of Karakhamun (TT 223, marked in figure 5.2, see below) beyond the current extent of excavation. Such a continuation could take the form of a further courtyard, a smaller vestibule, or a descending staircase leading from the surface into the tomb. Data were acquired between 29 August 2011 and 7 September 2011.

As shown in figure 1, a Sensors & Software pulseEKKO PRO GPR system was deployed on site, with two sets of antennas, each with its own strengths and weaknesses. The lower frequency set, with 200 MHz center-frequency, is able to penetrate to depths approaching 2 meters, but the acquisition method is rather slow with the equipment available. Antennas must be moved manually from one survey location to the next, at a predetermined interval (for example, every 10 centimeters). The higher frequency antennas, with 500 MHz center-frequency, can be mounted in a

survey sled and towed by a single operator along the ground. The sled is equipped with a calibrated odometer wheel which triggers the system to record data at pre-set intervals. Although the 500 MHz energy does not penetrate as deeply into the ground (1 meter maximum), the use of the survey sled means that data acquisition is much more rapid. The 500 MHz antennas were therefore used for the bulk of the preliminary survey. After initial data analysis, certain areas of the survey were targeted for further investigation with the slower 200 MHz antennas. Data from these later acquisitions are yet to be interpreted; therefore, this preliminary report details the results from the preliminary 500 MHz grid. GPR data were acquired in a grid of dimension 9m x 20m, starting 1 meter east of the current limit of excavation at the east of the Karakhamun tomb. Radar measurements are made in the grid with a sample density of 0.05m x 0.25m (that is, samples are made every 5 centimeters along a 9-meter-long profile line, with individual profile lines separated by 25 centimeters).

In addition to surveys to map any tomb structure directly, a number of calibration acquisitions were performed, aimed at characterizing the propagation of GPR energy through the limestone structure of the tomb and the sediments above it. The first of these calibration datasets was acquired over an exposure of limestone bedrock, buried beneath some 2.2 meters of sediment overburden, immediately south of the current excavation. This sedimentary overburden included numerous layers of organic-rich material, suggesting that the clay content of the overburden could be quite high. Consequently, the radar data do not provide a clear image of the contact between the sediment and the limestone structure of the tomb, and it is likely that the radar's energy is absorbed before propagating to the target depth. While this is initially disappointing, archaeological remains can often be characterized from the disturbance that they cause to overlying sediment horizons. For example, if a cavity is cut into the limestone bedrock and then in-filled by sediment, layers within that sediment may drape into that cavity. Alternatively, if a cavity beneath horizontal deposits undergoes a collapse, those horizontal layers will be made to slump. As such, an archaeological target can be inferred from the non-natural geometry of layers within its sediment overburden.

Preliminary Results

Figure 5.3 shows two images from the GPR dataset. The first of these (a) is a single profile, approximating a vertical cross section through the ground, at a position 10.5 meters east of the present limit of excavation. A prominent V-shaped reflector can be observed, extending across the whole of the profile. This reflector reaches its apex some 4.4 meters along the profile, where it is approximately 70 centimeters deeper than at its edges. This reflector is interpreted as a horizon within the sedimentary overburden, possibly the shallowest of a number of organic-rich layers.

The second image (b) is a GPR 'time slice,' a map-view orientation of the GPR data made by slicing through the grid at a constant depth below the ground surface. Time slices are useful for visualizing the spatial continuity of buried targets. For reference, the linear feature that extends across the grid is a surface electrical cable,

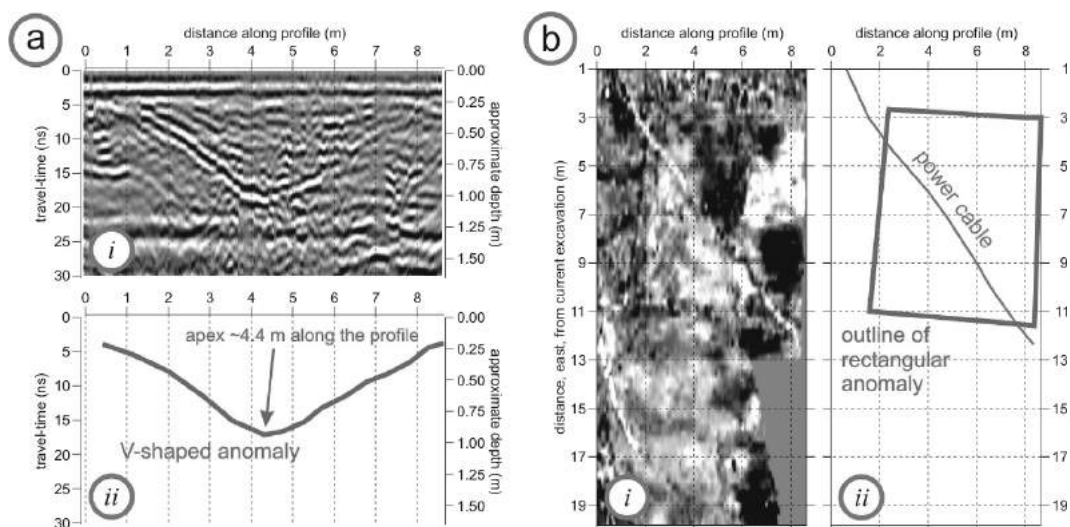


Fig. 5.2. GPR data acquired east of the tomb of Karakhamun, using the 500 MHz antennas. In each panel, *i* shows the GPR data and *ii* shows an interpretation for clarification. a) A GPR data profile which shows a clear V-shaped anomaly with its apex at distance 4.4 meters. b) GPR time slice showing a map-view of shallow subsurface reflectivity.

which could not be moved during the survey because it was powering lighting for conservators working within the Irtieru tomb. Of greater interest is a 6m x 8m rectangular region of radar reflectivity (made clearer in the interpretation, in *bii*). This feature is almost aligned with the long axis of the tomb, but appears at a very shallow depth (less than 20 centimeters). While it is tempting to associate this with the continuation of the Karakhamun tomb, overlaying these data on the site map (see fig. 5.3, below) shows that the reflectivity correlates with part of the demolished modern construction (in this case part of a house). It is hence unlikely that this section of reflectivity has an archaeological provenance.

Interpretation Maps

Figure 5.3 plots the GPR data in the context of an enlargement of the South Asasif site map.

Panel (a) shows the reference map, without GPR data. Panel (b) shows the time slice; note the correlation between the position of the rectangular anomaly and the site of the modern construction.

Panel (c) shows a representation of the V-shaped anomalies, having measured and plotted the depth of horizons where they are visible in the GPR data. These anomalies reach a maximum depth of approximately 1.1 meters beneath the ground surface and, rather than an elongate trench, describe a 'bowl-shaped' anomaly, with its center some 12 meters east of the current excavation. The dimensions of this

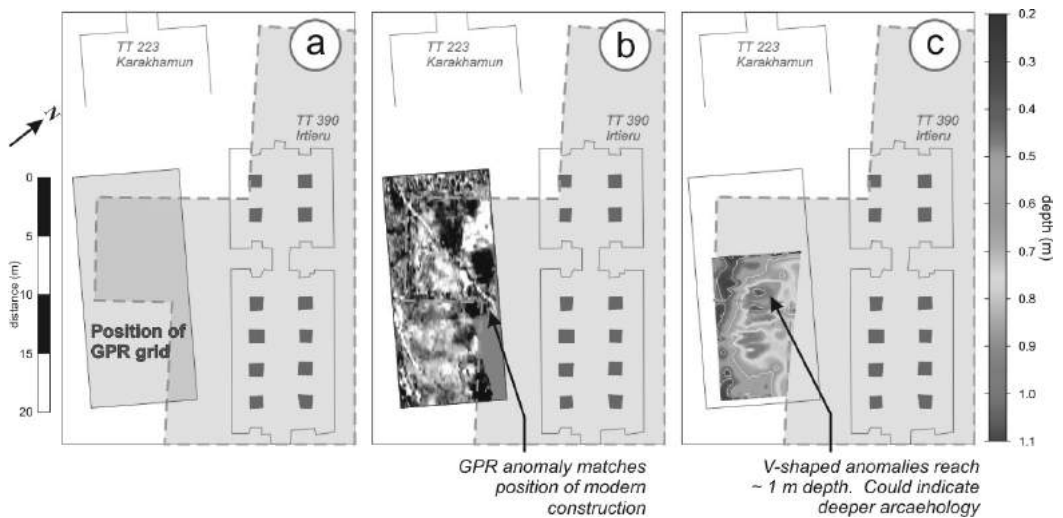


Fig. 5.3. Interpretation maps of the GPR data acquired east of the tomb of Karakhamun. a) Enlargement of the base map showing the eastern extent of the Karakhamun tomb, the Irtieru tomb, and the outline of the modern construction. b) GPR time slice. The position of the rectangular anomaly matches very well with an extension of the modern construction. c) Visualization of the V-shaped anomalies, with their depth color-contoured. The center of the V-shaped anomalies reaches a maximum depth of about 1.1 meters and defines a closed 'bowl' with dimensions of approximately 4 meters wide and 8 meters long.

bowl are approximately 4m x 8m. While it is currently impossible to exclude a modern origin for this anomaly, it is also possible that there may be a cavity beneath the center of the bowl, into which sediment layers have draped during deposition. Although the center of the bowl is not quite aligned with the center of the Karakhamun tomb, it is in this location where future invasive excavation would be recommended. Analysis and interpretation of the co-located, deeper sampling 200 MHz GPR acquisitions will clarify this recommendation in future reports.

Description of Other Datasets Acquired

In addition to the data presented here, other datasets were acquired both to image the principal target and to calibrate the associated GPR response. These additional datasets are listed below:

1. 500 MHz and 200 MHz GPR datasets were acquired over an exposure of limestone bedrock, buried 2.2 meters beneath sediment layers, along the southern edge of the current excavation. The profile is approximately 10 meters long, but in neither acquisition was the target limestone immediately visible. It is possible that it is present in the deeper sampling 200 MHz data, but extended processing is required.

2. 500 MHz GPR acquisitions on the intact limestone pillars of the Karakhamun and Irtieru tombs, to investigate radar propagation through limestone. These suggest that GPR energy of this frequency is easily able to propagate 2 meters, and possibly farther, through intact limestone. Limited depth penetration is therefore attributable to propagation through the sediment overburden, rather than in the limestone superstructure of the tomb.
3. Acquisitions were made directly on the southern wall of the Irtieru tomb, with the 500 MHz antennas, from within its pillared hall. This 'forward-looking' GPR dataset will allow any continuation of the Karakhamun tomb to be viewed from within the Irtieru tomb. Even a null result would be useful here; if no reflection is visible, it can be concluded that there is no continuation of the Karakhamun tomb, at least that comes within a few meters of the wall of the Irtieru tomb.
4. 500 MHz horizontal acquisitions on the southern wall of the Irtieru tomb, from within its pillared hall. By transmitting GPR energy sideways into the wall, it may be possible to view any continuation of the Karakhamun tomb from the side.
5. Calibration datasets using 500 and 200 MHz antennas on limestone blocks located near to the entrance of the South Asasif site. These will allow an assessment of the reflection strength of the limestone–sediment boundary, to determine if the contact between the two materials is at all visible with radar methods. Surveys were repeated with antennas on the side of the limestone block to check the response of a limestone–air contact; additionally, mud bricks were stacked on one side of the block, to investigate a limestone–mud brick contact.
6. The final calibration exercise took place over the newly excavated room at the eastern extreme of the Karakhamun tomb. A large metal storage box was placed within that room and data were acquired over it, using the 200 MHz antennas. Reflections from the box should be very prominent (metal is highly reflective to radar energy); hence, if it is observed, it can be assumed that radar energy propagated beyond the sediment–limestone contact. Initial interpretation of this dataset suggests that the box was barely visible; hence, reflections that directly sample the tomb could be very subtle indeed.

Summary

GPR data were collected in a two-week period in and around the tombs at the South Asasif burial complex, with the principal aim of imaging any potential sub-surface continuation of the tomb of Karakhamun (TT 223). A grid of GPR profiles imaged a rectangular area of reflectivity, attributed to modern construction, and a series of V-shaped horizons within the overlying sediment. These horizons define a closed anomaly that could be related to an archaeological cavity in the ground, some 12 meters east of the edge of the current excavation. The center of this anomaly is therefore recommended for further invasive investigation, although analysis of the remainder of the GPR archive will clarify the interpretation of this anomaly.

The collaborative effort resulted in a number of fruitful results:

1. If further excavation is to be done in this area, it would be best to start in the area of the V-shaped horizons east of the excavated sections of the tomb of Kharakamun.
 2. The forward-looking GPR acquisitions in the tomb of Irtieru will be particularly useful, especially when combined with traditional downward-looking acquisitions.
- The recorded datasets are still in the process of being fully analyzed.

Notes

- * This chapter is the preliminary report of a joint project by Dr. Adam Booth and Dr. Kasia Szpakowska of Swansea University's 'Bridging the Gaps' Project. Dr. Adam Booth and Dr. Kasia Szpakowska thank Swansea University's 'Bridging the Gaps' project for funding the survey in Egypt, Elena Pischikova for hosting us at the South Asasif site, and the Ministry of State for Antiquities for granting access to South Asasif. GPR equipment was provided by Swansea University's Glaciology Group and through Loan 951 from the Geophysical Equipment Facility of the UK's Natural Environmental Research Council.

The Tomb of Karakhamun (TT 223)

6

Titles of Karakhamun and the Kushite Administration of Thebes

*Christopher Naunton*¹

An individual's titulary—the words or phrases used to designate an individual, which usually occur before the name in inscriptions²—can provide an indication of his or her social status, roles and responsibilities, and the context in which their work was undertaken. In general they can be divided into groups as follows: ranking titles, vocational titles, and laudatory epithets.

Karakhamun held ten titles—a significant number—including the classic sequence of four 'ranking' titles: *iry-p^ct* ('the noble' or 'hereditary prince'), *h³ty-^c* ('count'), *htmty-bity* ('seal-bearer of the king of lower Egypt') and *smr w^cty (n mrwt)* ('(beloved) sole companion')³ (figs. 6.1 and 6.2). By the time of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, these titles had lost what meaning they might originally have had and instead came to signify that the individual held a certain status. The sequence is attested in the titulary of a number of prominent Theban individuals of the time, including the viziers Nespedu⁴ and Nespakashuty D,⁵ the Chief Lector Priest, Padiamunope,⁶ the chief stewards of the God's Wife of Amun, Harwa⁷ and Akhamunru,⁸ the Kushite Irygadiganen,⁹ the Fourth Priest of Amun, and governor of Thebes Montuemhat¹⁰ and several other members of his family, and the High Priest of Amun, Haremakheth.¹¹

The title *r^h nsw m³^c (mr:f)* ('the true (beloved) acquaintance of the king') is similarly taken to denote rank. This title had fallen out of use by the Third Intermediate Period, but reappeared during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty and became common again in the Twenty-sixth,¹² perhaps reflecting a resurgence in the importance of relations with the king, and suggesting that Karakhamun was in some way favored by the royal line at this time.

The title *irty nsw ^cn^hwy bity* ('the eyes and ears of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt') similarly implies a connection with the king, but seems to have been less common than that of *r^h nsw*, being held only by a select few individuals, all of whom



Fig. 6.1. Titles of Karakhamun. Offering scene. East wall, First Pillared Hall. Photo Katherine Blakeney, SACP

held high-ranking offices particularly within the temple of Karnak: the High Priest of Amun Haremakhnet,¹³ the Second Priests of Amun Patjenfy¹⁴ and Neshorbehdet,¹⁵ the Fourth Priest of Amun, Theban governor, and Overseer of Upper Egypt Montuemhat,¹⁶ and the priest of Amun, vizier, and Overseer of Upper Egypt Nespakashuty D.¹⁷ The title may simply be an extension of the notion that these individuals were part of the king's circle, but also suggests that they acted as representatives of the king, perhaps as part of a network of trusted individuals with a brief to monitor the local situation on behalf of the pharaoh. The extent to which this might have involved any practical duties or responsibilities is unclear, however.

The remaining titles may all be considered 'laudatory epithets': *wr m i3wt.f* ('the one who is great in his offices'), *3 m s'hw.f* ('the one who is great in his dignities'), *sr m h't rhyt* ('an official at the head of the people') and *ḳ hr h3t pr hr ph* ('the one who enters first and leaves last'). It has been suggested that the title *ḳ h3t* may be a priestly title and should be translated as 'first (priest) who enters (the temple),' or alternatively as two separate titles, *ḳ* meaning 'priest' and *h3wtj*, 'military leader,' although doubts have been expressed at this interpretation.¹⁸ Although the element *ḳ* appears alongside secondary elements, such as 'in Karnak' and 'of the house of Amun *Akb-menu*,'¹⁹ and 'of the Divine Adoratrice of Amun,'²⁰ that would suggest it had religious connotations, it seems also to have been used in

other ways,²¹ and therefore is simply translated as 'the one who enters,' which may have meant a variety of different things according to context. It seems more likely that *ḳ h3t* is simply an abbreviated form of the epithet *ḳ hr h3t pr hr ph*.

These epithets do not seem to have been common, but very strikingly all four were also held by the successive chief stewards of the God's Wife of Amun, Harwa and Akhamunru, both of whom were the owners of monumental rock-cut tombs in the Theban necropolis. However, both these individuals held a number of further titles indicating clearly that they were employed in numerous roles within the institution of the God's Wife of Amun, which provides an explanation of their status.

Karakhamun's titles suggest he was an individual of high status, and his tomb, perhaps one of the earliest examples of the resurgence in monumental tomb construction in Thebes under the Kushite pharaohs, might be taken as an indication that he enjoyed considerable wealth at a time when the new line of pharaohs was establishing itself in

Thebes. However, his titles in themselves provide little information as to the role and responsibilities he might have held or the context in which he might have been employed, and, therefore, to what or whom he might have owed his status.

It is striking that there is no direct reference to any ‘institution,’ such as the temple of Karnak, the estate of Amun, the priesthood of a particular god, or the God’s Wife of Amun, the principal representative of the Kushites in Thebes and the preeminent figure in the cult of Amun.²² The king is referred to, but only in a manner which provides no clear indication that a defined role was involved rather than simply a general connection to the royal court.

A clue to explain his status may lie in his name, rather than his titles. His Kushite name suggests he was of the same ethnicity as the newly established line of pharaohs. His presence in Thebes, apparently in the early part of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, suggests that he may have owed his prominence to a favorable relationship with the new ruling house. There is sufficient evidence to show that a number of ethnic Kushites were introduced to Thebes in the first half of the period.²³ The group also includes Karabasken, the Theban governor and Fourth Priest of Amun,²⁴ and owner of tomb TT 391, which is part of the same group of tombs as that of Karakhamun. Karabasken’s appointment to these positions almost certainly interrupted their long-established tenure by Theban families and may be attributed to the intervention of the Kushite pharaohs.²⁵ That Karakhamun bore no titles to show what his role might have been in the Kushite takeover may be due to his having earned favor within the Kushites’ own administrative system, in which no Egyptian titles were relevant. That the Kushites had such a system seems likely and may explain the significant reduction in the number of certain types of titles attested during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. For example, the prosopographical record suggests that military officials were numerous and prominent in the period prior to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty; however, similar evidence for individual holders of military titles after the conquest of the country by Piye is almost totally lacking. It is possible that the importance of the military declined, but it is more likely that the Kushites replaced the existing system for administering the military with their own, and that the individuals previously in charge of the military, who held certain titles to signify their authority, were replaced by Kushite army officials who chose not to adopt the same titles, either because their systems did not fit those of the previous regime or because their authority was



Fig. 6.2. Titles of Karakhamun. South wall, First Pillared Hall. Photo Katherine Blakeney, SACP

not indicated by titles in the same way.²⁶ Karakhamun may have earned his status outside the existing Egyptian administrative system and thus on arrival in Egypt held no titles that would shed light on his role. He was subsequently given a series of titles, however, that brought no specific role or responsibilities with them, but confirmed that he was highly regarded and deserving of a monumental tomb for his burial.

Notes

- 1 I am very grateful to Elena Pischikova for inviting me to contribute some thoughts on the titulary of Karakhamun, and to Ken Griffin for providing me with copies of the relevant inscriptions.
- 2 Stephen Quirke, *Titles and Bureaux of Egypt 1850–1700 BC*, Golden House Publications Egyptology 1 (London: Golden House Publications, 2004), 1.
- 3 Assmann, *Das Grab des Basa (Nr. 389) in der thebanischen Nekropole*, Grabung in Asasif: 1963–1970, 2, AVDAIK 6 (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1973), 19–22.
- 4 For example, Statue CG 48608 / JE 37416: Jack A. Josephson and Mamdouh Eldamaty, *Statues of the XXVth and XXVIth Dynasties*, Catalogue Général of Egyptian Antiquities in the Cairo Museum Nrs. 48601–48649 (Cairo: Supreme Council of Antiquities Press, 1999), 16–19.
- 5 For example, Statue CG 48631 / JE 36908: Josephson and Eldamaty, *Statues of the XXVth and XXVIth Dynasties*, 69–74.
- 6 For example, Statue CG 48615 / JE 37341: Josephson and Eldamaty, *Statues of the XXVth and XXVIth Dynasties*, 31–35, pl. 15.
- 7 For example, Statue JE 37386: Battiscombe Gunn and Reginald Engelbach, “The Statues of Harwa,” *BIFAO* 30 (1931): 791–92, 794–95.
- 8 For example, Statue CG 48602 / JE 37321: Josephson and Eldamaty, *Statues of the XXVth and XXVIth Dynasties*, 2–4.
- 9 Statue JE 38018: Lawrence Kirwan, “A Sudanese of the Saïte Period,” in *Mélanges Maspero* I, MIFAO 66 (Cairo: Imprimerie de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1934), 373–77.
- 10 For example, Statue CG 42236 / JE 36933: Georges Legrain, *Statues et Statuettes de Rois et de Particuliers III*, Nos 42192–42250. Catalogue Générale des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire (Cairo: Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte, 1914), 85–87, pl. XLIV–XLV.
- 11 Statue CG 42204 / JE 38580: Legrain, *Statues et Statuettes*, 12–13, pl. XI.
- 12 Herman De Meulenaere, “Notes de Prosopographie Thébain 26. La Statue-Bloc Tübingen 1734,” *CdE* 73 (1998): 253.
- 13 Statue CG 42204 / JE 38580: Legrain, *Statues et Statuettes*, 12–13, pl. XI.
- 14 Stela JE 46916: Fernand Bisson de la Roque, “Complément de la stèle d’[Amenemhat], fils de [Patjenef], époux de [Khykhy-jou], prêtre d’Amon qui réside à Karnak [avec 1 planche],” *BIFAO* 25 (1925): 47–48.
- 15 On a wooden board now in the Vatican: Günter Vittmann, *Priester und Beamte in Theben der Spätzeit. Genealogische und prosopographische Untersuchungen zum thebanischen Priester- und Beamtentum der 25 und 26 Dynastie*, Veröffentlichungen der Institute

- für Afrikanistik und Ägyptologie der Universität Wien 3, Beiträge zur Ägyptologie 1 (Vienna: Afro-Pub, 1978), 65.
- 16 Offering bowl BM 1292: Jean Leclant, *Montouemhat: quatrième prophète d'Amon, Prince de la ville*, BdE 35 (Cairo: IFAO, 1961), 141–48, pls. XLVI–XLIX.
 - 17 Statue CG 48634 / JE 36665: Josephson and Eldamaty, *Statues of the XXVth and XXVIth Dynasties*, 79–82, pl. 34.
 - 18 Günter Vittmann, “A Question of Names, Titles, and Iconography: Kushites in Priestly, Administrative and Other Positions from Dynasties 25 to 26,” *MittSAG*, 18 (2007): 145.
 - 19 Statue JE 36998 of Nespasefi called Senuseri: Jean-Claude Goyon et al., *Trésors d'Égypte. La «cachette» de Karnak 1904–2004* (Grenoble: Musée Dauphinois, 2004), 116–19.
 - 20 Stele JE 4886 and Coffin, Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum 3941: Erhart Graefe, *Untersuchungen zur Verwaltung und Geschichte der Institutionen der Gottesgemahlin des Amun vom Beginn des Neuen Reiches bis zur Spätzeit*, Band 1: Katalog und Materialsammlung, Band 2: Analyse und Indices, Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 37 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1981), 169–70.
 - 21 In addition to forming part of the epithet **k hr h3t pr hr ph* already discussed, it could also be used to refer to one who enters less specific locations, such as the town of Edfu (William A. Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom* (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1982), 78), suggesting that the concept of ‘entering’ was not specific to cult practice.
 - 22 On the significance of the God’s Wife see Mariam Ayad, *God’s Wife, God’s Servant: The God’s Wife of Amun (ca. 740–525 BC)* (London and New York: Routledge, 2009).
 - 23 Vittmann, “A Question of Names,” 139–59.
 - 24 See Frédéric Payraudeau, “La désignation du gouverneur de Thèbes aux époques libyenne et éthiopienne,” *RdE* 54 (2003): 147, n.89.
 - 25 Christopher Naunton, “Regime Change and the Administration of Thebes during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty” (PhD diss., Swansea University, 2012).
 - 26 Naunton, “Regime Change.”

7

Karakhamun Revisited: Some Remarks on the Architecture of TT 223

Dieter Eigner

In April 1976, I paid my first visit to the tomb of Karakhamun in the course of a study on the Late Period tombs of Western Thebes. The location of the tomb was then marked by a large oval gap in the ground, the place where the ceiling of the First Pillared Hall had collapsed. A huge mass of debris, covered by a layer of dirt and refuse, filled this hall up to one meter above the former ceiling level and higher. Only the northwestern corner of the hall was visible for a short stretch, just below some scant remains of the former ceiling. Only slightly better was the state of the second hall, which was still under a roof of rock, though the original ceiling had collapsed.¹ The eastern end of the northern nave of the second hall was still preserved, including the remains of a pilaster of the northern row of pillars in this hall. Above the pilaster, a small fragment of the architrave, adorned with a cavetto cornice, was still in situ.² The rest of the hall was buried under a heap of limestone chips, partly fallen from the rough rock ceiling, partly the result of modern quarrying. There was no chance to see some more traces of the original architecture of the room. But the burial tract was accessible via a small gap between the debris and the inclined ceiling of the lower staircase. These rooms were also filled with a considerable amount of debris.

A second visit in March 1977 was dedicated to the exact mapping by theodolite of the few visible architectural remains.³ On this occasion, our team could also descend the shaft to Karakhamun's burial chamber to document its exact dimensions (as far as was then visible) and position, and also to catch a glimpse of its beautiful astronomical ceiling. It is a curious fact that this ceiling is flat, while most burial chambers of monumental Late Period tombs have a vaulted ceiling. Especially for an astronomical ceiling, one would expect a vault. The rectangular shallow pit sunk into the floor of the chamber, as a receptacle for the coffin (or sarcophagus), was not visible. It was hidden under debris piled up almost to the ceiling at the eastern end of the room.

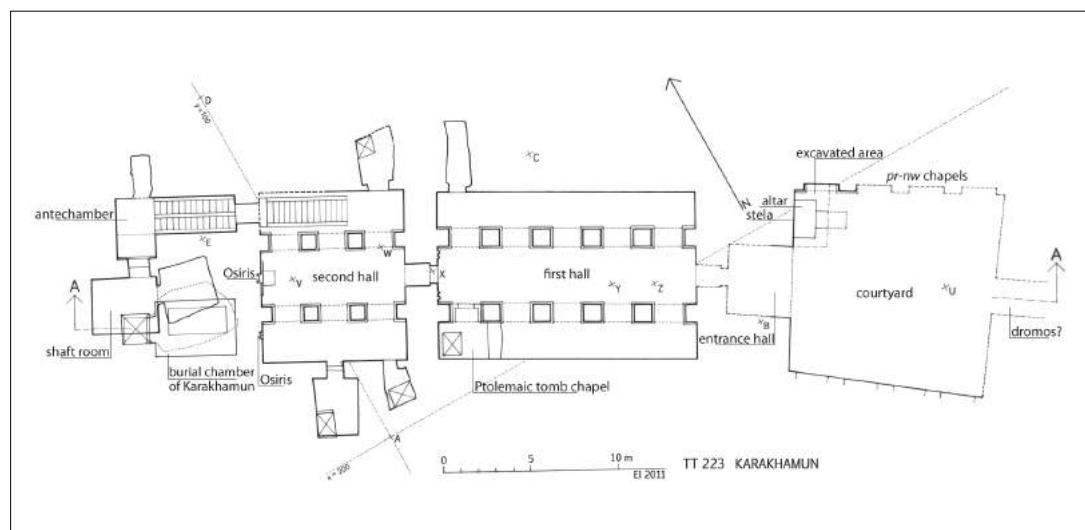


Fig. 7.1. Plan of the tomb of Karakhamun, 2011. *Dieter Eigner*

A quite satisfactory survey of the burial apartments could be accomplished, except for the staircases leading down to it, which were buried under masses of debris. But at least the inclined ceiling of the lower staircase provided enough evidence that it is a stair of two sections, the upper part sunk into the floor of the northern nave of the Second Pillared Hall. Much less satisfactory was the situation on the upper level. The few visible corners just about permitted us to establish the width of the northern side naves for both halls and the dimensions of pillars in the second hall. Also, the ceiling levels were manifest. The few visible remains were sufficient to determine the type of tomb plan: a long hall with a row of four pillars on each side (First Pillared Hall) is followed by a hall of more or less square plan with a total of four pillars (Second Pillared Hall). It is a type of plan seen several times in the monumental Late Period tombs of Thebes. Based on the study of dimensions and proportions of tombs of the same type, a hypothetical plan and section of the complete tomb of Karakhamun could be construed.⁴ As it turns out now, the reconstruction of the Second Pillared Hall is almost perfect, with dimensions differing from the real state by only a few centimeters. But the large hall was reconstructed about 1.1 meters too short. The reason is that the dimensions of the pillars in the First Pillared Hall were unknown and they were assumed to be of the same size as the pillars in the Second Pillared Hall. But they are of a considerably larger size, measuring about 1.05m x 1.05m (2 cubits by 2 cubits) in plan, while the pillars of the Second Pillared Hall are about 90cm x 90cm. This quite large difference in pillar size is a unique feature not found in other Late Period tombs with two pillared halls. Concerning the height of the pillars, the assumption of 5 cubits (2.62 meters) was correct for the second hall, while the more massive pillars of the first hall reach a

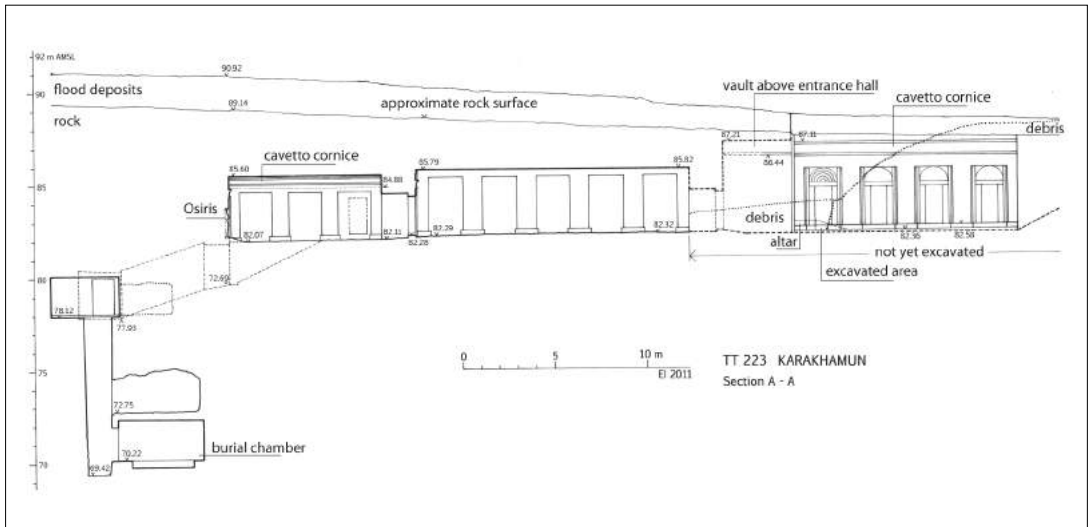


Fig. 7.2. Section of the tomb of Karakhamun, 2011. Dieter Eigner

height of 6 cubits (3.15 meters). The hypothetical plan contains three side rooms on the south side of the second hall. These rooms result from an interpretation of the rough sketch-plan in Porter and Moss.⁵

Through the activities of the South Asasif Conservation Project, directed by Elena Pischikova, hypotheses were nicely confirmed to some extent, and guesswork has come to an end. The halls and rooms of the tomb were cleared of debris and rubble, and in the seasons of 2010 and 2011 it was possible to effect an architectural survey of the actual state of the tomb. The results thereof are the plan presented here in figure 7.1 and the section drawing of figure 7.2. These drawings should be consulted for any questions about the following text. The drawings are still incomplete in their eastern part, as excavation and cleaning have not yet covered the complete extension of the tomb in this direction.

In the burial chamber, as mentioned above, the rectangular pit for the coffin was uncovered, and on the plastered walls more paintings came to light. While the south wall of the chamber could be mapped correctly in the season of 1977, it turned out that the north wall is inclined inward and the width of chamber at floor level is 3.1–3.19 meters (6 cubits). The length of the chamber is 4.54–4.59 meters (8 cubits + 5 palms), its height 2.1 meters (4 cubits). The shaft is about 8.7 meters deep; the rough bottom floor is about 80 centimeters below the floor level of the burial chamber. The shaft measures about 1.57m x 1.6m (3 cubits by 3 cubits) at its mouth in the upper shaft room and tapers down to about 1.38m x 1.47m at the bottom. The shaft faces are even; only the last two meters above the bottom show a rough surface. The mouth of the shaft extends for about 60 centimeters under the south wall of the shaft chamber, perhaps a later extension to facilitate the lowering

of the coffin. Just above the burial chamber of Karakhamun, there opens from the east side of the shaft another chamber of about the same dimensions. It is of grotto-like appearance with rough walls and of irregular plan. It may have been the first attempt at Karakhamun's burial chamber, abandoned because of bad rock quality, or it may just be an intrusive secondary burial.

The upper rooms of the burial compartment consist of the shaft room and an anteroom. The walls of both rooms are even and smooth, prepared for decoration which was never executed. In the eastern wall of the shaft room, there is an opening to a room of irregular plan, with roughly chiseled walls; its height is only about 1.8 meters. All these features hint at a secondary intrusive burial. For the passage between the shaft room and antechamber, no wooden door was provided; the opening was blocked with a brick wall. There still remains in situ the lowest course of a mudbrick wall, which is 1.5 bricks or about 48 centimeters thick. Into the northern wall of the antechamber is cut a cavity about 1 meter wide, 1.25 meters high, and 2.5 meters deep. According to these dimensions, it can be identified as a *loculus*, a burial place from Greek or even Roman times.

A stair of two sections leads down from the level of the Second Pillared Hall to the upper level of the burial apartments; the difference of floor levels between the second hall and the antechamber is about 4.2 meters. The lower staircase is directly attached to the antechamber without any doorway. The inclined ceiling and the walls of the lower staircase have even and smooth surfaces, prepared for decoration. Also the steps and accompanying ramps have carefully worked surfaces. The passage between the lower and upper staircases, again, shows no provision for the installation of a wooden door; its surfaces are very rough. It can be concluded that this opening was also closed by a brick wall. The upper staircase is in a pit cut into the floor of the northern nave of the Second Pillared Hall; its surfaces were left in a rough undressed state. So, the upper staircase has a purely utilitarian character, for the transport of the coffin. The lower staircase, with intended decoration, is part of the ritual and spiritual realm. A possible conclusion is that after the burial was effected, the above-mentioned brick walls were erected, and the pit of the upper staircase was filled with rubble and covered by a floor. All the floors of the tomb are in their present state rough and uneven, and one would expect a floor of mud and/or gypsum, but no trace of it has been found so far.

The Second Pillared Hall measures 9.71 meters (18.5 cubits) north-south, which is 30 centimeters wider than the First Pillared Hall, and 8.18–8.3 meters east-west (approx. 15 cubits + 6 palms). The total height of the central nave is about 3.5 meters. The pillars measure 90cm x 90cm and are 2.6 meters (5 cubits) high, including the plinth. In both halls, plinths have the extraordinary height of about 26 centimeters (0.5 cubits)—the uneven floor allows no exact measurement. The Second Pillared Hall has some extraordinary features which are not seen in other tombs of the same type. First of all is the cavetto cornice (including torus roll) crowning the architrave of pillars in the central nave. It should not be seen just as a decorative element, but

a symbolic or representative function has yet to be found out. Cavetto cornices in a comparable position are found in the 'deep hall' of some New Kingdom tombs in the Theban Necropolis.⁶ The other two features are in context with the cavetto cornice: the reduced size of the pillars in comparison with those of the first hall, and the extreme width of the second hall. It seems that the pillars of the second hall were reduced in size in order to avoid the second hall becoming higher (because of the cavetto cornice) than the first hall. It appears to be a rule for this tomb type that halls diminish in height toward the sanctuary (as in temple architecture). The ceiling level for the central nave of the second hall can be reconstructed at about 85.6 meters above mean sea level (AMSL), the ceiling of the first hall is at 85.79 meters AMSL, and the ceilings of the side naves of the second hall are at 84.88 AMSL. The central nave of the second hall had to become wider because of the cavetto cornices, but why the side naves did so also is a bit unclear.

The sanctuary ('Kultziel') is represented by a niche in the center of the western wall of the Second Pillared Hall. The niche houses a statue of Osiris, worked from the rock. Today, only the damaged feet of the statue are preserved. Based on the size of the mummiform feet, the height of the statue can be reconstructed at about 1.6 meters, including the crown. The niche has a plain triple frame of rectangular shape, which in turn is framed by a torus roll, which was certainly topped by a cavetto cornice. A small ramp leads up to the niche, which is about 26 centimeters above floor level. Comparable, but of much more elaborate design, is the sanctuary of Osiris in the offering hall of TT 37, Harwa. Rather curious is the existence of a second, smaller, and plain niche in the western wall of the south nave, also holding a statue of Osiris. The niche is 36 centimeters above floor level, and the size of the statue would be about 1.1 meters. There is no architectural frame. Probably this statue was meant to serve the needs of the burial in the larger of the two southern side chambers.

There is one side chamber, containing one shaft, on the northern side of the second hall; it is of irregular shape and with rough walls, and the floor level is above the level of the northern nave. These features hint at a secondary installation, but the possibility that the chamber is a partly unfinished element of the original plan cannot be completely excluded. On the south side, there are two side chambers, almost completely destroyed: most parts of their walls can be seen only as a faint trace on the rock floor. They contain one shaft each. The western, larger one is definitely part of the original plan: the axis of its entrance coincides exactly with the north-south axis of the second hall, its floor levels are the same, and its plan is approximately rectangular. The doorjambs are partly destroyed, but there is a hint that the room could once be closed by a wooden door. There are the remains of a crudely executed brick wall blocking off the doorway, obviously of secondary date. The second chamber on the south side is an intrusive element of later date, irregular in shape, with a floor level about 26 centimeters above the floor of the south nave.

To judge by the now-visible remains and the notes in Porter and Moss,⁷ the Second Pillared Hall was completely decorated.

The First Pillared Hall measures 9.41 meters (18 cubits) north–south and 14.91 meters (28.5 cubits) east–west. Pillars are 1.05m x 1.05m (2 cubits by 2 cubits) and 3.15 meters (6 cubits) high, including the plinth. The total height of the hall is about 3.5 meters. In the center of the western wall is the doorway to the second hall. The shape of its jambs indicates that it once could be closed by a wooden door, which opened toward the right. Only the lowest part of the architectural frame of the opening is preserved, but, still, a reconstruction is possible. A plain double rectangular frame surrounded the opening, flanked by torus rolls with a cavetto cornice on top. This image of a chapel stood within the image of a tent structure, where two slim papyriform columns supported a curved roof of vegetable material (reed bundles?). Fragments of the papyriform capitals were found in the debris. The same design was used by Irtieru (TT 390) for the entrance to her tomb, but instead of papyriform columns, she (or her architect) chose palmiform columns.⁸

Near the northwestern corner of the First Pillared Hall, a cavity is cut into the northern wall, about 3.9 meters deep, 1.2–1.3 meters wide, and about 1.5 meters high, with a floor about 40 centimeters above the floor of the northern nave. It has the character of a large loculus and is definitely of late date. The westernmost segment of the south nave was used to install a secondary tomb chapel, including a shaft with burial chamber. The eastern wall of the chapel was built of limestone blocks, in a crude fashion; nonetheless, the wall was plastered with a thick coat of gypsum (or lime). The limestone blocks are spoils, some of them showing remains of a torus roll. The westernmost intercolumnium was adapted to a doorway; sandstone slabs were used to shape jambs and door posts. Ten fired bricks, set on edge, form a threshold for an opening which is 90 centimeters wide and which without doubt was closed by a wooden door. The western jamb and doorpost are missing.⁹ Inscribed sandstone fragments of the doorjambs of this chapel show a title which was not in use after the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.

According to the in situ remains and the huge amount of decorated wall fragments collected from the debris, it appears at the moment that the First Pillared Hall was completely decorated.

The process of excavation and cleaning had advanced by 2011 to the area of the entrance to the first hall and the courtyard in front of it. Both are still buried under a mass of debris, rubble, and dirt. Only in a small area in the northwestern corner of the courtyard has the surface of the rock floor has been reached, with remarkable results. On the north wall of the courtyard that curious incised design of five concentric semicircles has come to light. These had already baffled J. Wilkinson in the 1820s, who saw them as ornaments.¹⁰ In 2011 it was discovered that these semicircles depict the roof of the chapel in a relief image of a *pr-nw* chapel (see fig. 7.2). Three more of these images are expected on the north wall of the courtyard. They are set into niches which are about 40 centimeters deep, exactly 2 meters wide, and about 3.3 meters high; the uneven surface of the rock floor permits no exact measurement. The space between the niches is exactly 1 meter. Adding 50

centimeters at each corner, the northern front of the courtyard would be 12 meters long. The northeastern corner of the courtyard is not yet uncovered.

The spaces between the niches are not just blank wall surfaces: they are designed as pilasters. This is clearly demonstrated by the fact that they are set on plinths. So far, only the plinth of the semi-pilaster in the northwest corner is uncovered, but that is evidence enough. These pilasters are the image of the pillared galleries which are part of the architectural concept in most courtyards of the monumental Late Period tombs. The number of three pillars plus two pilasters is found in the courtyards of TT 36 Ibi (in this case, columns forming a colonnade), TT 279 Pabasa, TT 196 Padihorresnet, TT 414 Ankh-Hor (in a special arrangement), and TT 27 Sheshonq. For TT 390 Irtieru, the number and shape of columns is still unknown. In the case of Karakhamun, the intercolumnia are not an open space permitting access to the roofed part of the gallery, but they hold the images of *pr-nw* chapels.

The exact dimensions and configuration of the courtyard are not yet fully secured. The shape presented in figure 1 is based on the measurements available so far. The length of the south front could be measured at 11.25 meters, which is a bit baffling at the moment, compared to the calculated 12 meters of the north front. But in the south front, the eastern corner of the easternmost pilaster is just visible, at a distance of 2.34 meters from the corner. This enables the following calculation: two semi-pilasters of 47 centimeters, plus three pilasters of 94 centimeters, plus four intercolumnia of 187 centimeters, amounting to a total of 11.24 meters. So, in the southern front the dimensions of pilasters and intercolumnia were slightly diminished compared to the northern front. The reason for this difference in length, and for the irregular shape of the courtyard, is not yet known.

On the western front of the courtyard, in the corner which was excavated, there came to light a stela carved into the rock face. It is 94 centimeters wide and 2.07 meters (approx. 4 cubits) high, with a rounded top. It is embedded into two rectangular frames, flanked by torus rolls with a cavetto cornice on top. Unfortunately, the stela is an undecorated blank. In front of the stela, there is a podium attached to the rock face, rising about 52 centimeters (1 cubit) above the courtyard floor. The outer faces of the podium are built of vertically set limestone slabs joined by gypsum mortar. The inner core probably consisted of rubble, which is no longer in place.¹¹ A gently sloping ramp of limestone, not yet fully excavated, leads from floor level to the top of the podium. In fact, the whole installation can best be described as an 'altar.' Two outstanding examples of rock-hewn altars in front of stelae flanking the tomb entrance are to be found in the second courtyard of TT 34 Montuemhat. There, the left-hand stela is dedicated to Osiris, the right one to Ra-Horakhty.

Approximately in the center of the western front of the courtyard is the wide opening (3.93 meters) of the entrance hall, which is in fact a spacious niche. The usual roof of this niche, a segmented vault, is preserved only in the minimal remains of its base. The vault rests on a slim ledge, 1 centimeter thick and 10 centimeters

high. This feature is found quite frequently in the entrance halls of Late Period tombs, for instance in TT 33 Padiamenope.¹² Through comparison with the vaults of other entrance halls, the height of the vault can be calculated as 67 centimeters. Therefore, the apex of the vault would be at 87.21 meters AMSL, more than five meters above the courtyard floor level. This is an extreme height for an entrance hall, not to be found in any other tomb of the Late Period group. The tomb entrance itself is not yet uncovered. One could expect a small ramp leading up to the threshold and, of course, the usual frame for the doorway, consisting of a superimposition of various shapes of chapels.

At the eastern front of the courtyard is to be expected the connecting link to the ground surface, probably just a ramp under open air—a dromos—leading directly to the courtyard. That would be the adequate solution for the axial concept which is preferred for Kushite tombs in the Theban Necropolis. But the idea of an underground vestibule should not be completely discarded. Reaching the surface, there arises the question of a superstructure. Remains of a mudbrick superstructure were seen in 1976 (as observed by the author), and some remains are manifest now, although in another place. A superstructure containing three courtyards would conform with the ‘norm’ of Late Period tombs.

The images of chapels on the walls of the courtyard may represent the homes of eight deities of an ennead, while the abode of Osiris, as the ninth and most prominent member of the group, is represented by the tomb entrance with its monumental hall. The elongated façade of the entrance hall could be seen as an attempt to give it the proportions of a *pr-nw*.

The hypogeum of Karakhamun with two pillared halls is of a type which is found in three other tombs of the Kushite period: TT 37 Harwa, TT 33 Padiamenope, and TT 390 Irtieru. No tombs of this type date to the Saite period, with the possible exception of TT 390 Irtieru. Erhart Graefe dates Irtieru in the early Twenty-sixth Dynasty,¹³ but the architecture of her tomb is ‘Kushite.’ The Great Pillared Hall of Harwa measures 16.2m x 10.87m (about 31 cubits by 20.5 cubits), while the pillared halls of Padiamenope are the exact replica of the halls of Harwa in size. Karakhamun ranks third at 14.91m x 9.41m, while Irtieru at 14.07m x 8.87m is a bit more modest. Karakhamun and Harwa share some similar features, but the issue of dating remains under discussion. Judging by their close proximity, the tomb of Karakhamun may have served as the model for Irtieru. The basic architectural concept of these tombs follows, among others, the principles of temple architecture;¹⁴ in recent times, even the term ‘Tempelgrab’ has come into use.¹⁵

Notes

- 1 For the state of the tomb in the 1970s, see Plan 9 in Dieter Eigner, *Die monumentalen Grabbauten der Spätzeit in der thebanischen Nekropole*. Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österreichischen archäologischen Institutes 6 (Vienna: Verl. der Öster. Akad. der Wiss., 1984), 41–42.

- 2 Eigner, *Die monumentalen Grabbauten der Spätzeit*, plate 14 B.
- 3 With the kind and efficient help of Dr. Josef Dorner, geodesist, later the deputy director of the Austrian Archaeological Institute in Cairo.
- 4 Eigner, *Die monumentalen Grabbauten der Spätzeit*, Plan 9.
- 5 Bertha Porter and Rosalind L.B. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings* 1, The Theban Necropolis Part 1, Private Tombs (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1994), 318.
- 6 For instance, in TT 23, Tjay (temp. Merenptah), now the object of research and conservation by the Russian Institute of Egyptology in Cairo.
- 7 PM I, 1, 318 and 324.
- 8 Eigner, *Die monumentalen Grabbauten der Spätzeit*, Abb. 95.
- 9 This information was passed on to me by E. Pischikova.
- 10 Eigner, *Die monumentalen Grabbauten der Spätzeit*, 41.
- 11 A podium in front of a stela, constructed in the same way, was recently excavated by Francesco Tiradritti in the courtyard of TT 37 Harwa. (Personal observations by the author.)
- 12 Eigner, *Die monumentalen Grabbauten der Spätzeit*, Abb. 123.
- 13 Eigner, *Die monumentalen Grabbauten der Spätzeit*, 15 (Table 1), 17.
- 14 Eigner, *Die monumentalen Grabbauten der Spätzeit*, 94, Abb. 66, 99, 156, 195.
- 15 Julia Budka, "Der 'Lichthof' im Grab des Anch-Hor," *Sokar* 18 (2009), 80.



Vestibule: Daily-life Scenes in the Tomb of Karakhamun

Elena Pischikova

The discovery of the vestibule of the tomb of Karakhamun occurred in September 2011, at the end of the season. Only the top registers of the vestibule's decoration were visible on the south and north walls of the room. The images in the top register were unfinished and left in preliminary drawings. The images belong to the so-called daily-life cycle of scenes and most probably are an indication of the theme of the whole room. Based on the pronounced Old Kingdom iconography of the scenes, there was an expectation that the clearing of the room might reveal two mirror images of Karakhamun on both walls, supervising estate activities in an Old Kingdom fashion. Excavation of the 2012 season showed that the rest of the decoration was gravely damaged. The conservation work of 2013 reveals traces of the damaged drawings in different areas of the room. It seems that the reconstruction of the initial iconography of the vestibule's decoration will be possible on paper.

Viticulture Cycle

Grape Gathering

Four people in open kilts secured with narrow belts tied below the waistline are shown standing under a single outsized arched vine. They are gathering large-scale grape bunches exceeding in size the trapezoidal baskets on rope handles they are all holding. The workmen wear short plain wigs. Two men stand straight, two are leaning forward.

The iconography of this scene can be described as a free interpretation of a New Kingdom version. The Old Kingdom prototype of harvesting grapes, as presented in the mastaba of Ptahhotep and Akhethotep, shows two kneeling figures in short plain wigs under a vine supported by a wooden frame. They gather small bunches of grapes into a large basket standing between them.¹

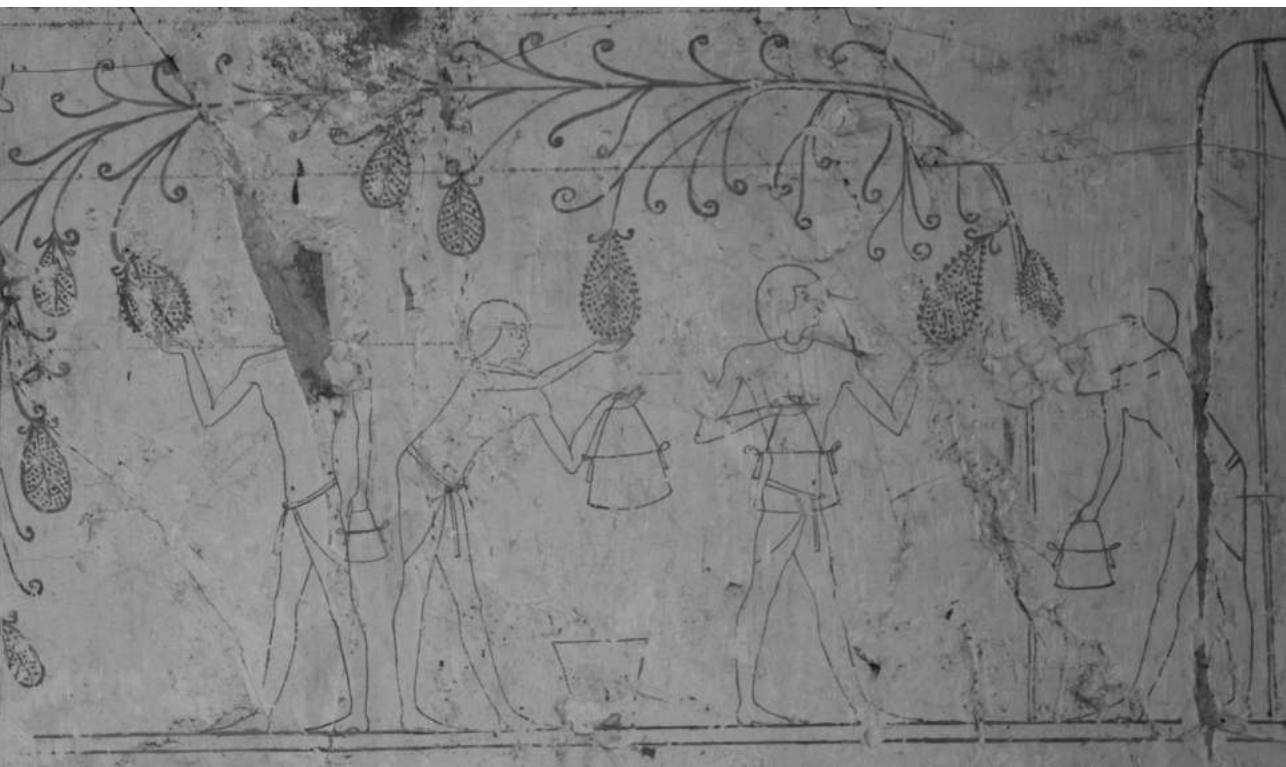


Fig. 8.1. Grape gathering. Vestibule. Tomb of Karakhamun. Photo Katherine Blakeney, SACP

The New Kingdom variation is well shown in many Eighteenth Dynasty tombs, including Rekhmire (TT 100), Antef (TT 155), Nakht (TT 52), and many others.² The main difference from the Old Kingdom technology is that the wooden stand is replaced with a fan-shaped support that is not often represented. For example, in the tomb of Rekhmire, the gathering is shown from three arched vines with no support and a lot of leaves and grapes. The workmen pick up bunches of grapes and put them into large, empty-looking baskets hanging in midair. They all stand straight with their feet on the ground, wearing open kilts and with natural hair. Some random figures are in short plain wigs. Two men are moving toward the vat with loaded baskets on their shoulders and with one large bunch in their free hands.³ Similarly, the tomb of Antef (TT 155), of the Eighteenth Dynasty, shows four people under three vines with lots of leaves and grapes forming a tall arch with no support. One is standing and reaching for a bunch, another kneeling to reach a lower bunch, a third is leaning forward to put the grapes in a basket. All the baskets are full. An obese overseer is standing with a whip. Workmen have natural hair and open kilts. One workman is walking toward a vat carrying a basket on his shoulder and a large bunch in his other hand.⁴

Treading Grapes

Four figures are shown facing to the left with legs straight, one arm stretched toward the man standing in front, the other holding on to one long rope attached to the stands. The vat is shallow and has the shape of a large bowl with rounded sides. They wear short plain wigs and open kilts. In this scene, we have an interesting variation of Old Kingdom iconography.

The Old Kingdom version of crushing grapes in a vat, as shown in the tomb of Ptahhotep, is four people holding a pole above their heads, facing to the left but looking back, and with one man facing them. They hold on to each other's belts. Everyone has one leg in the vat and one on the ground. The vat is low and flat. They wear short plain wigs and kilts.⁵

Rekhmire's vat is deeper, as was customary in the New Kingdom. Eight men stand inside on a heap of grapes with their knees bent, four overlapping figures on each side. They are holding on to the ropes hanging from the horizontal pole above. All the workmen are in open kilts and are shown with natural hair.⁶ Similarly, the tomb of Antef (TT 155) of the Eighteenth Dynasty shows a deep vat with four workmen jumping wildly inside, holding on to ropes hanging from a pole. A man puts grapes into the vat.⁷

In Karakhamun, we have a misinterpreted gesture of the workmen. They were supposed to hold on to each others' belts for stability. The depiction of one long rope instead of multiple ropes and the elaborate shape of the vat are not ordinary features of this scene in any time period.

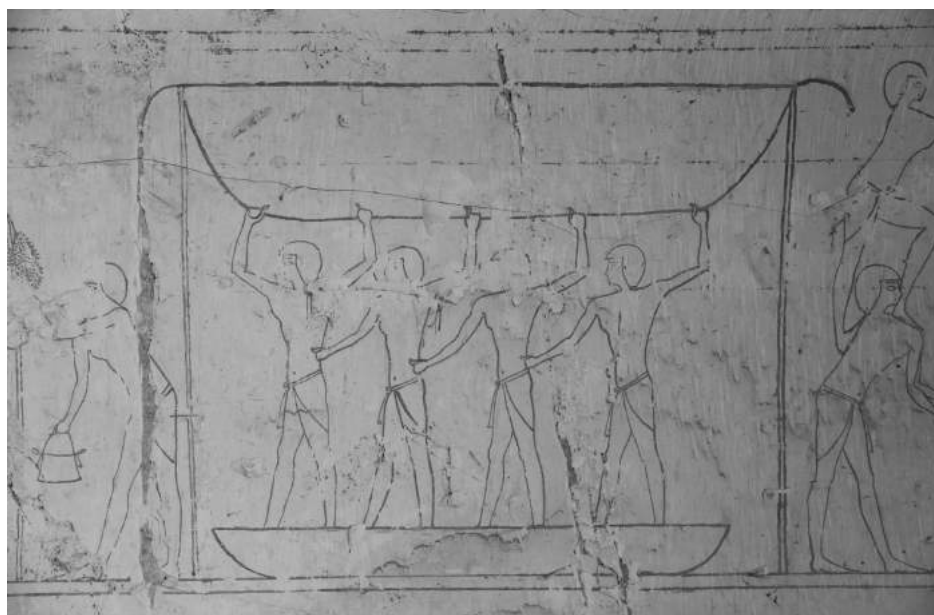


Fig. 8.2. Treading grapes. Vestibule. Tomb of Karakhamun. Photo Katherine Blakeney, SACP

Sackpress

The sackpress is operated by five people. There are two pairs on the sides of the poles on one another's shoulders, helping each other to twist the sack. One man is in the middle between the poles, pushing them with his arms and legs. Juice pours into a wide jar. They wear small, plain wigs and open kilts. It is distinctly Old Kingdom iconography with a Kushite twist.

The wine-making cycle was popular from the Fourth Dynasty on.⁸ In the Old Kingdom version of Ptahhotep, the wine press is operated by five people in small plain wigs and girdles. The press itself is a sack twisted by means of two long poles. The men on the sides work in pairs, two standing and two kneeling figures. The man in the middle hangs between two poles. Juice pours into a rectangular container under the sack.⁹ The more popular version shows men on each other's shoulders.¹⁰

In the Middle Kingdom, technology develops and the press receives a wooden frame, which makes it more stable and more manageable. The new structure remains basically the same throughout the New Kingdom.¹¹ The New Kingdom version from the tomb of Antef (TT 155) shows a sack secured between two stands.



Fig. 8.3. Sackpress. Vestibule. Tomb of Karakhamun. Photo Katherine Blakeney, SACP

Poles are inserted into the loops of the sack on the sides of the stands and turned by four men. Two workmen kneel under the press to direct the poles from below and two stand on the sides of the stands directing the upper ends of the poles.¹² Popular during the Eighteenth Dynasty, it gradually ceased to be a popular motif toward the end of the dynasty and disappears in Ramesside times.¹³

Mostly based on Old Kingdom prototypes, the representation of the wine-making cycle in the tomb of Karakhamun practically ignores the more accessible New Kingdom imagery. Karakhamun's artists transported the ancient northern version of the scenes with some alterations. As the technology of wine making they could observe in Egypt, and which was contemporary to them, was considerably different, their interpretation of ancient technology lacks an understanding of the practical meaning of some features. In addition to this, some changes look deliberate. The narrative character of the scenes is considerably diminished. Three vines representing 'many' in the previous tradition are replaced with one, with a few oversized bunches of grapes instead of numerous small ones. The baskets for gathering grapes remain empty; nothing is taken to the vat. The vat looks empty as well. Grape crushers are shown with their knees straight as if walking in a procession. The gesture of holding each other's belts is misunderstood. The fifth man in the press scene, who was supposed to push the poles with his feet from above, is shown in the walking position as well. The whole scene becomes ritual rather than functional. It is more about the importance of having this scene in the tomb than about a process of production.

It seems that the two known Twenty-sixth Dynasty representations of the wine-making cycle were based on Karakhamun's iconography and enhanced the features developed by Karakhamun's artists. In the tombs of Pabasa (TT 289) and Ankh-Hor (TT 414), we see the same peculiarities in representations of vines, vats, and the process of grape crushing.¹⁴ The ritual nature of these scenes becomes even more apparent with the depiction of wigs alternating with shaven heads and workers attired in formal short kilts and diagonal sashes.

Dancers and Musicians

Scenes of dancers and musicians in the vestibule of the tomb of Karakhamun occupy the top register of the north wall. The ensemble of musicians consists of five men: two harp players, one lute player, one end-blown flute, and a clapper. They all sit in asymmetrical poses with one knee up. The dancers are three women in knee-length skirts, two diagonal sashes crossed on the chest, narrow collars, and close-cropped hair.

This composition reflects a distinct Old Kingdom influence rather than imagery from nearby New Kingdom tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty, when this subject was very popular. Iconographically, Karakhamun's version is close to Fifth Dynasty Saqqara examples, such as in the tomb of Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep.¹⁵ Maniche stresses a number of differences between the more traditional Old and Middle Kingdom iconography and the new iconographic trends in the New Kingdom. Among them are the replacement of an end-blown flute by lutes and lyres. The core of the



Fig. 8.4. Dancers. Vestibule. Tomb of Karakhamun. Photo Katherine Blakeney, SACP

musical ensemble in the Old and Middle Kingdom was a harp, an end-blown flute, a simple clarinet, and a group of clappers. The harp would be of the native, so-called ‘shovel-shaped’ arched type, as we see in the tomb of Karakhamun.¹⁶ The nine- or ten-stringed instrument was played by plucking the strings between the thumb and index finger of the left hand and touching a different group of strings with the right hand, shown with the fingers spread out.

The end-blown flute was under 1 meter long. The sound was made by blowing across the upper edge of the instrument, which almost touched the ground when played. The three or four finger holes were placed at the lower end of the flute. The flute players were usually shown in short kilts with narrow belts tied in rounded knots just below the waistline and had short-cropped hair. The harpists sat on one leg with the other knee up.¹⁷

In the Old Kingdom, the scene of musicians and dancers was a new addition to the traditional repertoire of the Fourth Dynasty.¹⁸ They were first placed under the figure of the tomb owner at the offering table.¹⁹ The L-shaped offering rooms of mastabas often have scenes of dancers, clappers, and musicians, some in banquet, kiosk, and pavilion scenes.²⁰ Banquet scenes and the related subjects of cooking, brewing, dancers, senet, and mehen (senet and mehen are popular board games) are generally given an intermediary position in a multi-room complex, midway between the entrance chambers and the offering room.²¹ The tomb owner is usually shown in banquet scenes with musicians and/or dancers and clappers.²² Sometimes relatives were depicted as harpists, dancers, singers, or other subsidiary figures in scenes of entertainment starting from the end of the Fifth Dynasty.²³



Fig. 8.5. Musicians. Vestibule. Tomb of Karakhamun. Photo Katherine Blakeney, SACP

In the New Kingdom, scenes of musicians and dancers remain a part of banquet scenes in Eighteenth Dynasty Theban tombs. In the New Kingdom, the usual ensemble includes the harp, double oboe, lute, lyre, and tambourine. The new types of harp are boat-shaped and ladle-shaped. The boat-shaped type is large and usually played standing. The instrument has a gently curving outline with a U-shaped sound box. The ladle harp has the shape of a semicircle.²⁴ In the New Kingdom, female musicians and dancers prevail over males. Women are shown nude, in girdles or sheer pleated dresses, adorned with broad collars, earrings, and flower garlands.²⁵ Female musicians are usually shown standing.²⁶

Manniche also mentions that the musical ensemble of the Late Period is not well-known because of the archaizing nature of the tomb decoration of this period, with references to the Old Kingdom.²⁷ The musicians at Kawa are a military ensemble, which shows a drum, trumpets, and the Nubian version of New Kingdom boat-shaped harps.²⁸

Therefore, the dancers' and musicians' scenes in the tomb of Karakhamun follow the Old Kingdom iconographical pattern, rather than the New Kingdom Theban version to which the tomb creators were widely exposed. Even the labels follow the Old Kingdom tradition.²⁹ This choice is not supported by the royal choice in the temple of Kawa, probably because military instruments are not attested in representations till the New Kingdom.³⁰

Agriculture

Agricultural scenes form the top register of the south wall of the vestibule. The top register contains the remains of a plowing scene, followed by two cows and two donkeys led by herdsmen. The workmen are shown in open kilts and in short wigs or



Fig. 8.6. Loaded donkeys. Vestibule. Tomb of Karakhamun. Photo Katherine Blakeney, SACP

with close-cropped hair. The plowman is leaning forward, holding the low-handled plow with two hands. The plow is driven by an ox controlled by a driver with a stick.

The plowing process is shown in Old Kingdom iconography. The Old Kingdom plowman is usually shown in a forward-shoulder posture with both hands grasping the handles of the plough and his feet flat on the ground. Near the oxen is the second figure, goading the animals forward with a stick.³¹ The clothing worn by the workmen includes a short kilt or an open kilt and they are usually shown with natural hair. Short curly wigs on workmen were introduced in the Fifth Dynasty. They are used sporadically, do not entirely replace natural hair, and are not necessarily associated with more important people.³² A donkey at the end of the scene carries a large trapezoidal load, which also reflects traditional Old Kingdom iconography.³³

Agricultural scenes in the tomb of Harwa already reflect more of an advancement toward the ‘ritualization’ of daily-life scenes by damaging their narrative structure.³⁴ The workmen wear formal kilts with diagonal sashes, a donkey in a scene of grain transportation is shown unloaded, and the scene of sowing grain is irrelevantly followed by harvesting flax.

What is known from Mentuemhat’s agricultural cycle shows further development of the process of sacralization of these scenes and adaptation of New Kingdom iconography. Changes made to the original scenes should be seen as a manifestation of the change in the meaning of the scene. One of the most revealing examples from the tomb of Mentuemhat is a relief fragment with a woman under a tree. The composition was inspired by an Eighteenth Dynasty painting in the tomb of Menna (TT 69).³⁵ Round fruit accurately arranged into a pyramid and placed on a graceful stand replaces the original pile of figs. The woman’s simple stool is turned into an elegant chair with its legs and back decorated with beautifully detailed papyrus umbels. The single tree is replaced with one on the side of the woman. The rearrangement of



Fig. 8.7. Plowing. Vestibule. Tomb of Karakhamun. *Photo Katherine Blakeney, SACP*

the fruit and trees brings much balance and symmetry into the composition; and, at the same time, the elegance of the new furniture removes it from the context of an agricultural scene.

The tomb of Ibi (TT 36), based on the tomb of his Old Kingdom namesake, shows even stronger New Kingdom features while adapting Old Kingdom material. The agricultural scenes in the tomb of Ibi were inspired by the decoration of the Fifth Dynasty tomb of Ibi at Deir al-Gebrawi.³⁶ At the same time, the Old Kingdom plows were replaced with New Kingdom versions with high handles, which allow the plowman to stand straight. The special oxherd for driving plow teams was omitted.³⁷

In addition, a number of gestures and scenes were misunderstood and represented ‘incorrectly’ in the tomb of Ibi. Hence, in the scene of winnowing grain, the group of workmen surrounding the heap of grain has been replaced with a single figure turned away from the grain he is supposed to winnow. The tools he holds are turned the wrong way. Winnowing tools looked like clappers with two rounded sides and two flat. The workmen would ‘clap’ the grain between the two flat sides. The Late Period version shows the workman holding the clappers with the flat side against the round, which makes them dysfunctional. The threshing floor also changes its appearance. People and cattle working on the threshing floor are usually shown with their feet buried in piles of grain; Late Period artists complete the figures and place them on a flat, hard platform. Only two small mounds on the sides of the platform refer to the grain that should have covered the whole floor.

An important part of the Late Period reinterpretation concerns the attire of the workmen. Not one wig or outfit was transferred from the original pattern without changes. Later adaptation introduces more formal, elaborate versions of outfits without regard to the context of the scene or the status of the person. Changes made to the originals must have explanations that go deeper than the

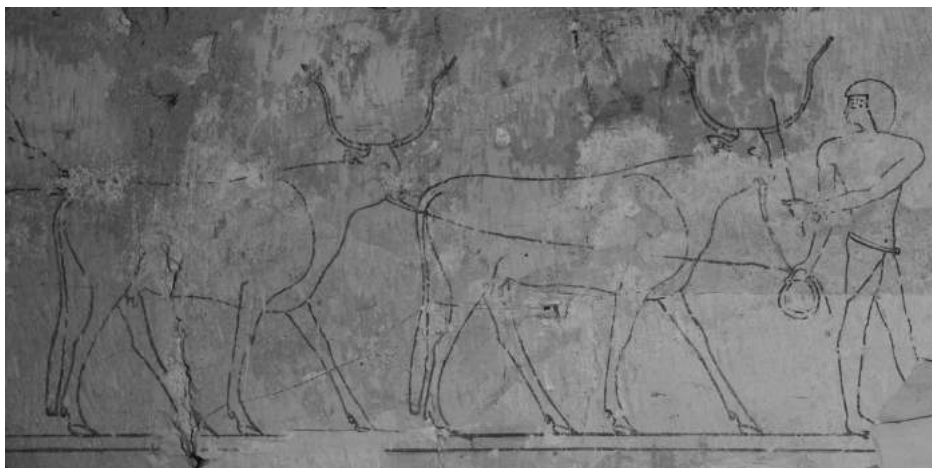


Fig. 8.8. Herdsman with cattle. Vestibule. Tomb of Karakhamun. Photo Katherine Blakeney, SACP

level of stylistic preferences or misunderstanding of certain features because they deprive every scene of its functionality on a practical level.

So-called scenes of daily life, last popular in Eighteenth Dynasty Theban tombs, practically disappear from the repertoire of Ramesside tombs, and are revived in Kushite tombs as an important part of private tombs a few hundred years later. If some of the features of Kushite tombs' decoration can be traced to the Ramesside Period, the daily-life cycle was not in use for the longest period of time and shows the archaistic trends of the time in their most transparent form.³⁸

The first, most obvious feature of the Kushite version of daily-life scenes is its fascination with prototypes of the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties. The amount of New Kingdom-inspired features increases as time progresses toward the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. The tomb of Karakhamun demonstrates the purest Old Kingdom version of this type of scene known in the Late Period, which allows us to conclude that the vestibule was originally built and decorated for Karakhamun.

The second feature can be called 'mistakes' in the representation of objects, attire, and actions related to the cycle. They can be divided into at least two groups: misunderstanding of the technologies and features belonging to the ancient civilization, and deliberate adjustments that reflect the new interpretation of these scenes, which brings us to the third feature.

The third feature is a progression toward losing the narrative and practical element of these scenes to presentation, sacralization, and ritual in the course of the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasties.

Notes

- 1 Norman de Garis Davies, *The Mastaba of Ptahhetep and Akhethetep at Saqqareh*, Part I, The Chapel of Ptahhetep and Hieroglyphs, Archaeological Survey of Egypt, 5

- (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1900), pl. 21; Luise Klebs, *Die Relief des alten Reiches* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1915), 56; Yvonne Harpur and Paolo Scremin, *The Chapel of Ptahhotep: Scene Details* (Oxford: Oxford Expedition to Egypt, 2008), fig. 133; Luise Klebs, *Die Relief und Malerein des mittleren Reiches* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1922), 79.
- 2 See for the tomb of Hepu (TT 66), Nina de Garis Davies, *Scenes from Some Theban Tombs* (nos. 38, 66, 162, with Excerpts from 81), Private Tombs at Thebes, Vol. 4 (Oxford: The Griffith Institute, 1963), pl. 14; Zahi Hawass, *The Lost Tombs of Thebes: Life in Paradise* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2009); see for Nakht (TT 52), Sigrid Hodel-Hoernes, *Life and Death in Ancient Egypt: Scenes from Private Tombs in New Kingdom Thebes* (Ithaca, London: Cornell University Press, 2000), 40, fig. 16.
 - 3 Norman de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-Mi-Re at Thebes*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition, Vol. 2 (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1943), pl. 45.
 - 4 Torgny Save-Soderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, Vol. 1, Private Tombs at Thebes (Oxford: The Griffith Institute, 1957), pl. 14.
 - 5 Davies, *The Mastaba of Ptahhotep*, pl. 20; Harpur and Scremin, *The Chapel of Ptahhotep*, fig. 5.
 - 6 Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-Mi-Re*, Vol. 2, pl. 45.
 - 7 Save-Soderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, Vol. 1, pl. 14.
 - 8 Yvonne Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom: Studies in Orientation and Scene Content*, Studies in Egyptology (London: KPI, 1987), 81–82. Harpur states that a wine press is represented as early as the reign of Snefru in Nfr-maatat Meidum, and there is a more detailed version in the rock-cut tomb of Nb.j-m-ahtj, but the most complete sequence of gathering grapes and making wine is not attested till the V.3L in the multiroom chapel of Jj-mrjj at Giza.
 - 9 Davies, *The Mastaba of Ptahhotep*, pl. 21; Klebs, *Die Relief des alten Reiches*, 57.
 - 10 Klebs, *Die Relief des alten Reiches*, 57.
 - 11 Klebs, *Die Relief und Malerein*, 80; Mu-Chou Poo, *Wine and Wine Offering in the Religion of Ancient Egypt*, Studies in Egyptology (London, New York: KPI, 1995), 7–11.
 - 12 Save-Soderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, Vol. 1, pl. 15.
 - 13 Poo, *Wine and Wine Offering*.
 - 14 Manfred Bietak and Elfriede Reiser-Haslauer, *Das Grab des Anch-Hor. Obersthofmeister der Gottesgemahlin Nitokris*, Vol. 4, Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österreichischen archäologischen Institutes 4, 5 (Vienna: Österr. Akad. der Wiss, 1978–82), pls. 66–68.
 - 15 Lise Manniche, *Music and Musicians in Ancient Egypt* (London: The British Museum Press, 1991), 24–25. Another example is a harpist from the tomb of Ptahhotep at Saqqara, 32.
 - 16 Manniche, *Music and Musicians*, 27.
 - 17 Manniche, *Music and Musicians*, 28.
 - 18 William S. Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom* (London: Oxford University Press, 1949), 167.
 - 19 Smith gives two examples, Nefermaat (G 7060) and Seshemnofer (G 5080), see Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture*, 167.
 - 20 Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs*, 75, 80. For example, Nefermaat, at Giza, and Nikaura, of the Fourth Dynasty, also at Giza; Klebs, *Die Relief des alten Reiches*, 109; Klebs, *Die Relief und Malerein*, 141, 147.

- 21 Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs*, 228, 253. Outdoor scenes (marsh scenes, agriculture, and horticulture) tend to be placed on the walls of the first and second entrance rooms, perhaps in imitation of their placement in the outer precincts of the Fifth Dynasty temples. These rooms may be equated with the east and north walls of the Giza L-shaped chapel and the eastern wall of the cruciform chapel at Saqqara.
- 22 Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs*, 253.
- 23 Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs*, 256.
- 24 Manniche, *Music and Musicians*, 40–45.
- 25 Examples are in the tombs of Nebamun and Rekhmire, and in TT 78, 81, 113, 341, and many others. See Manniche, *Music and Musicians*, 40–56, figs. 21–31; Hodel-Hoernes, *Life and Death in Ancient Egypt*, 35–37, figs. 12, 13, 126, 127, 134, 152.
- 26 Davies, *Scenes from Some Theban Tombs*, Vol. 4, pl. 6.
- 27 Manniche, *Music and Musicians*, 53.
- 28 Manniche, *Music and Musicians*, 80, fig. 48.
- 29 Old Kingdom labels: Dance, *ib*; harp, *bnt*; flute, *m3t*; clarinet, *mmt*. Although the Twenty-sixth Dynasty tombs show more New Kingdom influence, the tomb of Ibi (TT 36) is partially based on its Old Kingdom namesake and demonstrates similar iconography. Klaus P. Kuhlmann and Wolfgang Schenkel, *Das Grab des Ibi, Obergutsverwalters der Gottesgemahlin des Amun. Thebanisches Grab Nr. 36, Band 1: Beschreibung der unterirdischen Kult- und Bestattungsanlage*, AVDAIK 15 (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1983), pl. 28.
- 30 Manniche, *Music and Musicians*, 74.
- 31 Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs*, 161, figs. 134–35.
- 32 Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs*, 170–72.
- 33 Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs*, figs. 205, 206, 213, 214, 218.
- 34 Edna R. Russmann, “Relief Decoration in Theban Private Tombs of the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasties: Its Origins and Development, with Particular Reference to the Tomb of Harwa (TT 37)” (PhD diss., New York University, 1992), 147–67.
- 35 John D. Cooney, “Three Early Saite Tomb Reliefs,” *JNES* 9 (1950): 193–203; Peter der Manuelian, *Living in the Past: Studies in Archaism of the Egyptian Twenty-sixth Dynasty* (London: KPI, 1994), 19, fig. 1.
- 36 Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *Das Grab des Ibi*, pl. 59; Nina de Garis Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Deir-el Gebrawi 1* (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1902), pls. 7, 13.
- 37 For the New Kingdom iconography, see Davies, *Scenes from Some Theban Tombs*, Vol. 4, pl. 2; Hodel-Hoernes, *Life and Death in Ancient Egypt*, 31–32, figs. 9–11, 181 (Nakht TT 52 and Sennejem TT 1).
- 38 Aspects of daily-life scenes cycles are widely covered in literature mostly on Old and New Kingdom daily-life cycles. To name a few: Lise Manniche, “The So-Called Scenes of Daily Life in the Private Tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty: An Overview,” in *The Theban Necropolis: Past, Present and Future*, edited by Nigel Strudwick and John H. Taylor (London: The British Museum Press, 2003), 42–45; Nico Searing, “Fixed Rules or Personal Choice? On the Composition and Arrangement of Daily Life Scenes in Old Kingdom Elite Tombs,” in *Old Kingdom. New Perspectives. Egyptian Art and Archaeology 2750–2150 B.C.*, edited by Nigel Strudwick and Helen Strudwick (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2011), 256–69.

9

The Textual Program of Karakhamun's First Pillared Hall

*Miguel Ángel Molinero Polo**

From the end of the ninth century BC, funerary texts became extremely rare in the Theban necropolis. Different explanations have been given as to the reasons for the simplification of coffin design and the near disappearance of formulaic spells: the impoverishment of the local elite after decades of opposition to the Delta court; cultural control, and even repression, by Tanite kings through the closing-down of the workshops where mortuary equipment had been produced; modification of aesthetic tastes, discarding previously crowded ornamentation in favor of austerity. In the next generation, it is mainly in the royal tombs of Tanis and the necropolis of the high priests of Ptah in Memphis that the New Kingdom compositions were still in use.¹

Nearly a century later, the revival of books for the afterlife was pushed by the dynasty of kings coming from Kush and by their relatives and high officials installed at Thebes. The tomb-chapel of Amenirdis I, probably decorated under her successor Shepenwepet II, the large complexes of Asasif, and the coffins of the priestly families have been taken, so far, as the main evidence for the recovery of the funerary textual tradition. The use of papyri seems to have been restored later, since very few rolls have been dated to this dynasty and only to its last decades: pTashepenkhonsu with certainty,² and pPadinemty,³ as well as the master copy for several specimens of the beginning of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.⁴

All these documents have been chronologically preceded by the texts of Karakhamun, if the date of TT 223, around the reigns of Shabaqo and Shabito, is accepted. Nineteenth-century scholarship had already attributed to this monument, among other compositions, some spells of the Pyramid Texts,⁵ but since the middle of the twentieth century, it had not been possible to confirm this information. The reopening of the tomb has brought about the recognition of a textual richness that was not recorded by earlier explorers. Despite the fragmentary state of its walls and

pillars, it provides the first example of recuperation of the *Book of Going Forth by Day* (BD), with spells already submitted to an iconographical—and probably textual—revision, but not yet with the ordering of the Saite recension. As far as is now known, this ordering was fixed at the beginning of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty and was to be retained until the last documents of this composition. Karakhamun's tomb is also the first example of a disposition for the *Ritual of the Hours* that was to be maintained in subsequent monuments. In general terms, the tomb quickly became a model for architectural design and therefore for the combination of different funerary compositions that are reflected in the later monumental constructions of Asasif.

In the next pages, the texts identified in the First Pillared Hall are presented. Two epigraphers from the Universidad de La Laguna worked on them during two seasons, 2010 and 2011.⁶ We are part of a team that has begun a research project on the transmission of funerary compositions to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty.⁷ Our task, besides the identification of every spell recorded on the monument, was to understand the meaning of ancient formulae inside the selection of more recent literature. The activities, always related to the inscriptions of the tomb, consisted mainly of:

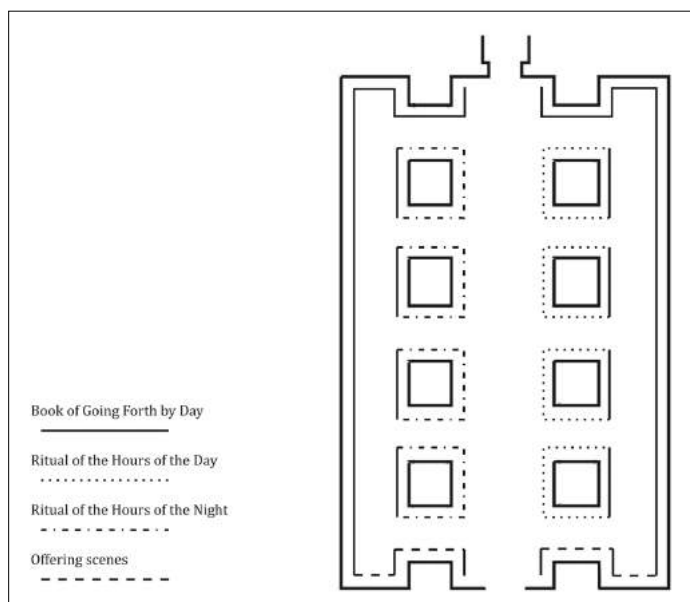
- hand-copying the texts preserved on the walls; this was done in the earliest hours of the morning, before strong exposure by the sun
- identification of the copied texts in the afternoon; we were helped by our own database of Pyramid Texts and by the research instruments created around the Bonn *Totenbuchprojekt*. This identification was an essential base for the two other tasks
- organization of the decorated blocks of TT 223, stored in the tomb of Karabasken, to enable easier and faster searching for fragments belonging to specific walls
- identification of the decoration on the stored blocks of TT 223. The scheduled plan is for the reconstruction of some faces of pillars and pilasters and parts of the walls each season, and the recognition of all fragments liable to help in our understanding of the decorative pattern of the walls. In this task, we have worked in cooperation with the restoration team of the SACP. Indeed, their members had already made great progress in the joining of blocks before the arrival of epigraphers.⁸

General Description of the Decoration

The walls and pillars of the tomb are badly deteriorated. Nevertheless, it has been possible to identify a series of features in the disposition of textual decoration that are repeated in every symmetrical architectonic element. As some of them are documented only once, it has been assumed that they were repeated identically in parallel elements.

There is an evident coherence in the distributions of the funerary compositions: offering scenes and lists are carved on the east wall; BD spells on the rest of the walls, pilasters, and inner sides of the pillars; and texts of the ritual of the hours on the three sides of the pillars that open to the central aisle (fig. 9.1).

Fig. 9.1. Diagram of the decoration in the First Pillared Hall. *Miguel Á. Molinero Polo*



East Wall

The north and south sections of the east wall are covered with similar scenes of the traditional ritual of funerary offering. The organization is strictly symmetrical on both sides of the wall and the texts are not retrograde (fig. 9.2). The northern section is rather well preserved—only the offering panel is half lost—while no more than fragments of the southern section are still recognizable.

The relief can be divided into two vertical parts: the deceased with a textual identification, and the offering scene with the offering list.

On the external side (north side in the northern section, south side in the southern section), the seated proprietor is surmounted by three columns of texts with his titles and name; it must have been one of the longest lists of titles of the tomb, along with those of similar offering scenes in the Second Pillared Hall. Only in the one in the northern section is it partly preserved.

The figure of the deceased in the northern section is a very nicely carved relief. The southern image is lost, but the scant remains show that it was already painted, since traces of the deceased's red skin are visible. Therefore, this relief was in a higher state of completion than the one in the northern section.

The name of the dog was probably written over him, but it was erased (see fig. 4.5). The sign \mathfrak{A} , *w3*, made part of it near its beginning, judging from its position in relation to chisel marks. The dog—red collar in the southern section—and several oil jars, different on each side, are represented under the bull-legged chair: a globular *hknw*-oil vase with a lotus flower on the top in the northern section, and three vases—two for *h3tt nt thnw*-oil on either side of one probably for *hknw*-oil in the

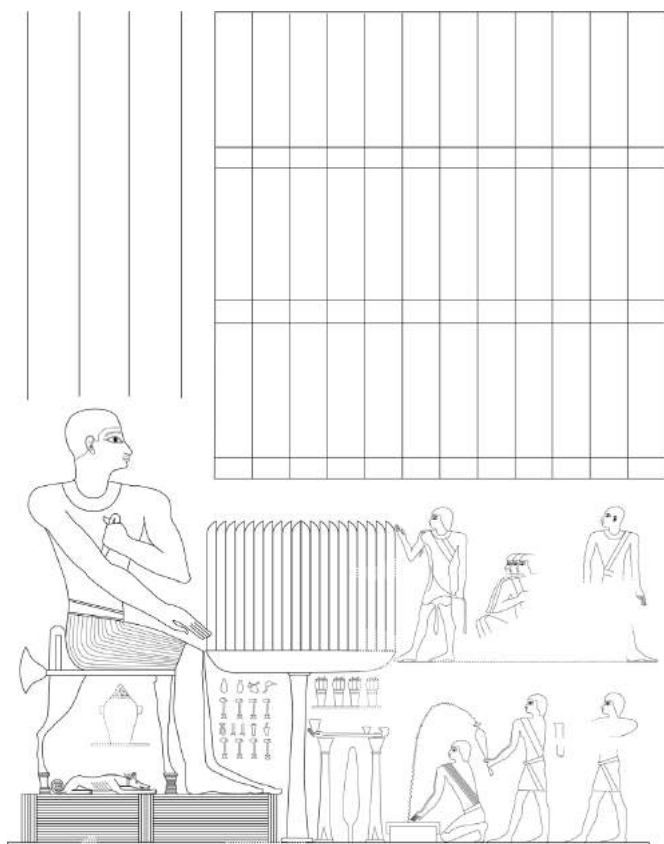


Fig. 9.2. Offering scene of east wall, northern section. First Pillared Hall. Drawing Daniel M. Méndez Rodríguez

middle—in the southern section. This reappearance of the motif of oil jars under the deceased's chair became a standard element in the reliefs of Late Period tombs.⁹

Karakhamun extends a hand toward an offering table covered by vertical loaves of bread. Below it, a legend—preserved in the north side—states its contents textually: *h3 (m) t*, *h3 (m) hnqt*, *h3 (m) k3*, *h3 (m) 3pd*, *h3 (m) šs*, *h3 (m) mnht*, *h3 (m) mrht*, *h3 (m) sntr*. Diverse offerings are represented under the table on the side opposite the deceased: three slender *hknw*-oil vases—there is room for a fourth one—a censer on two stands, and a lettuce on the northern section, and a broad *hknw*-oil jar and a stand with *hs*-vases on the southern section. Except for the lettuces and lotus flowers, only containers compose this austere still-life, a substantial change in respect to Theban tombs of precedent periods. This reduction, which reflects a deliberate selection of objects based on their symbolic meaning, has already been highlighted in previous analyses of Late Period tombs.¹⁰

In front of Karakhamun, the scene of the ritual is represented in a traditional way: an offering list above and priestly ceremonies below, here distributed in two superimposed levels.

The list is shown in a panel composed of three registers divided into twelve columns. Every register is composed of two horizontal lines. The cells of the upper one include the name of the offering and, under it, the determinative acting as a representation of the product itself. Below, the number of units of each offering, in a specific square, composes an independent narrow row. The offerings on each side were probably identical, but the preserved fragments do not strictly overlap, so it is impossible to confirm this.¹¹

The ritual is represented in two registers. Overlapping personages and legends are preserved on every side, so a complete image of both reliefs can be drawn, which only differ in one figure.¹²

There are five performers in the upper register (fig. 9.3). The first, explicitly labeled *sem*-priest, with a leopard skin over his shoulders, raises his right hand in an invocation while the left one grasps the tail of the animal; the signs over him specify his action, a *hṭp-dj-nsw*. He is followed by three priests represented in the *hṇw* (jubilation) gesture; the hieroglyph 𓆎 still preserved in the northern section makes it known that they were originally qualified as *hryw-hbt*. Their action was stated as *jrt s3ḥw* 𓆎[*s3*]w [...]

(text of southern section). The last figure shows a man who is also labeled as *hryw-hbt*, since a part of 𓆎 can be recognized in the north section. He turns his back to the preceding priests, but not even by joining the remaining reliefs of both sections can he be completely reconstructed. Nevertheless, by comparison with similar scenes and through the reading of a small 𓆎 behind him, it is certain that he is removing his footprints, [*jnt*] *rd*.





The lower register is occupied by three priests (fig. 9.4). The words in the front of the scene must allude to their actions: , which could be interpreted as “giving divine offerings” with  in place of . The first figure is on his knees, both arms in front of him and hands over an offering table; the term  is a reference to his priestly position, *jt-ntr*, father of the god.¹³ The second priest is holding a *hs*-vase and making a libation that falls on the table, passing over the previous one. Some words can be read over him; in the southern section, best preserved, they are: *zꜣt* [...] *j* *n hꜣry-hbt*, “libation-*zat* [...] by the lector-priest.” The third man is different on either side; the northern one holds a roll of papyrus; the southern one, wearing a leopard



Fig. 9.3. Funerary offering ritual. *Sem*-priest making an invocation. East Wall, Northern Section. First Pillared Hall. Photo Miguel Á. Molinero Polo

skin, raises his hand in invocation, repeating the gesture of the *sem*-priest in the first register. The legend states, in the southern section, [jrt s]3hw [jn] hryw-hbt š3t, “to perform (rituals of) glorification by a multitude of lector-priests.”

North and South Walls

Each follows a different pattern of decoration. The only common point is that they are composed of text and vignettes of BD, the latter being distributed following the necessary arrangement to illustrate the corresponding text.

The south wall is in a very irregular state of preservation. While its easternmost part is preserved to the top, it deteriorates gradually toward the west; only some signs at the bottom of the columns are visible in the middle of the chamber, and the western part of the wall itself is completely lost. It was decorated following a unique pattern (fig. 9.5). The wall is divided into two horizontal registers: a unique frieze with a sequence of scenes in the upper one and columns of texts in the lower one.

The north wall is very badly damaged; long parts of it are completely lost and others eroded, probably due to reuses of the tomb that heated and burnt the limestone. The figurative field is divided into two sets of forty-six and fifty-five columns, each separated by a vignette extending from the top to the bottom of the wall. In turn, these sets of columns are not structurally identical to one another (fig. 9.6). A sequence of rectangular vignettes was carved at the top of the wall. For the moment, it cannot be known if there were as many images as spells, but it is likely. It is also

Fig. 9.4. Funerary offering ritual. Priests making a libation and an invocation. East wall, Northern Section. First Pillared Hall. Photo Miguel Á. Molinero Polo



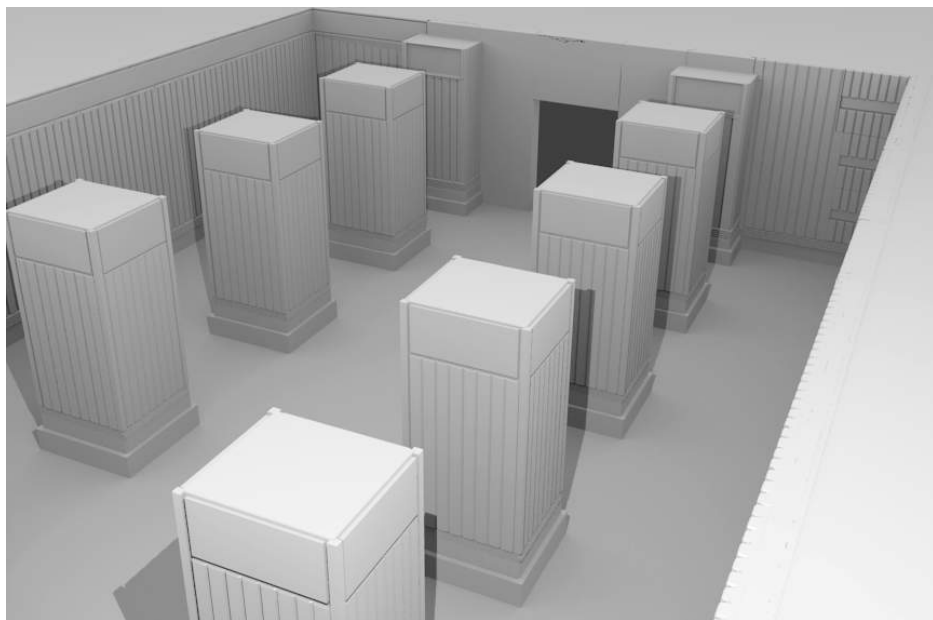


Fig. 9.5. 3D reconstruction of the First Pillared Hall, southwest corner. *Digital model R. Quintero and Miguel Á. Molinero Polo*

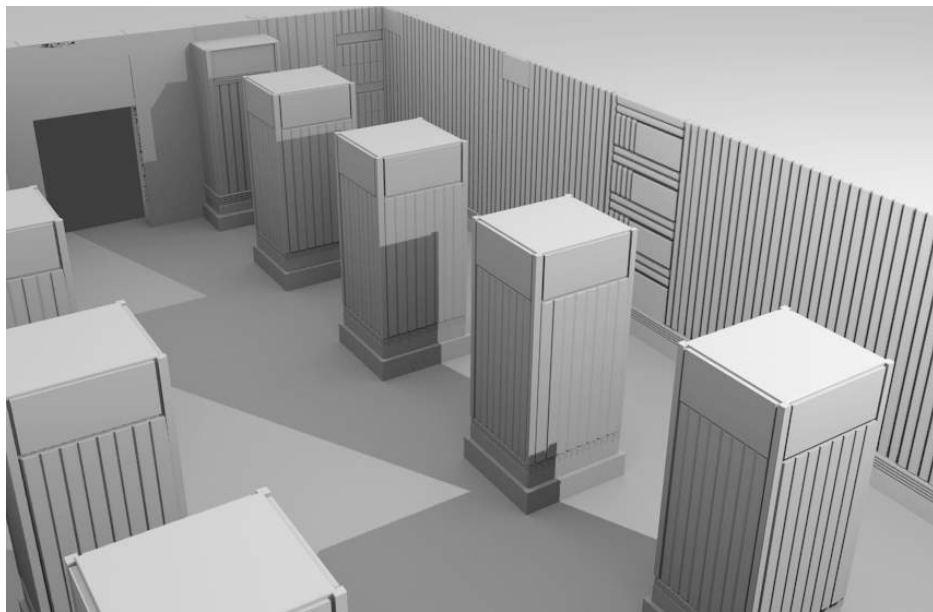


Fig. 9.6. 3D reconstruction of the First Pillared Hall, northwest corner. *Digital model R. Quintero and Miguel Á. Molinero Polo*

unknown if they were drawn at a regular distance from one another, depending on the length of text they accompanied. This second possibility, identical to that found in papyri, seems more probable. Future reconstruction will allow a greater understanding of both issues if enough loose blocks are found.

West Wall

Northern section

There are fourteen columns of text. They include a diagram that, in a certain way, mirrors the offering list of the opposing east wall: the northern seven columns are divided into three registers by two horizontal lines of text.

Southern section

The whole wall is lost, but the southwest pilaster was reconstructed during the 2012 season. This section probably repeated the number of columns of the northern one. A fragment of a vignette and some columns of text have been attributed to this location. If the identification is correct, there would be no parallel either between both sides of the west wall or between both southern sections of the east and west walls. The west wall/south section would be organized in a simple pattern identical to that of the south wall. It would be divided into two parts: a frieze of images on the upper part and columns of texts on the lower one, occupying around four of five parts of the height of the wall.

Pilasters of the East and West Walls

The north and south sides of the four pilasters are covered by four columns of text. However, this is their only common feature, since both sides were conceived differently.

The four sides opening onto the central aisle show an additional vertical band without decoration, as broad as one of the previous columns placed between the spells and the wall. During the 2011 season, the south side of the northwest pilaster was reconstructed; in the next season, the same was done with the north side of the symmetrical southwest pilaster. Thus, it has been recognized that the columns of texts reach the architrave and are headed by a row of *dd-mdw* signs. Therefore, it can be assumed that no vignettes were sculpted on the upper part of the sides opening onto the central aisle. This has to have been an aesthetic decision, probably to break with the repetition that involves the series of vignettes on top of the central pillars. In fact, when written on papyri, their spells are complemented with an image. As their text is short, the vignettes are all narrow. Thus, an accompanying vignette would have fitted over these five columns, the blank one included, without a problem, if there had been the intention to introduce it here.

By contrast, the sides of the pilasters that look onto both lateral aisles have no fifth blank column, as they are not as wide as the ones facing the central passage. In the 2012 season, the south side of the southwest pilaster was reconstructed and



Fig. 9.7a, b. Fragments of a procession of offering bearers. East wall pilaster. First Pillared Hall. Photo and Drawing Katherine Blakeney, SACP

the vignette took its place at the top. Therefore, it can be concluded that these four sides had their images, confirming that the absence from the opposite side was not a problem of space.

Both west sides of the pilasters on the east wall are completely lost. Nevertheless, it is possible to state that they were covered with scenes representing rows of offering bearers remarkably carved, distributed across several registers (fig. 9.7). This can be deduced through the fragments found around them. The location is confirmed not only by comparison with other Late Period tombs (Harwa, Pabasa), but mainly because some blocks have been recognized showing a relief of the procession on one side and a part of a text on the other; the latter has been identified and, therefore, the placement is known.

Both east sides of the pilasters on the west wall display the vignette on the upper part and eight columns of text on the rest of the surface.

The Pillars

The two rows of four pillars are preserved only partially, to the middle of their height in the best cases and with their surfaces completely eroded in the worst ones.

Comparison with other Late Period funerary complexes and the finding of numerous fragments of reliefs that follow a similar model allow the proposal of an equal pattern for the twenty-four sides that were inscribed with the *Ritual of the Hours*.

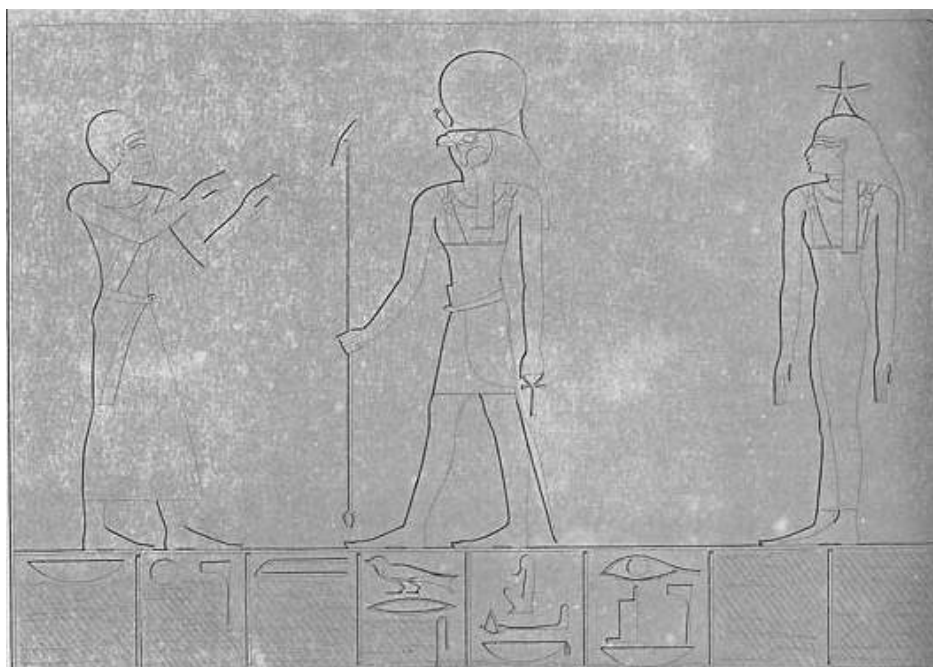


Fig. 9.8. Vignette of the First Hour of the Night. First Pillared Hall. LD III, 282 e

There is no such evident parallel for the eight sides that do not show texts of this ritual. In Pabasa's tomb, they were not sculpted with a vignette; the columns of text occupy the entire height. By contrast, in TT 223, fragments of vignettes of BD corresponding with the spells copied in the preserved lower part have been recognized, and in two cases, the connection between image and text has been made (north row of pillars, 1st and 4th pillars, northern side). Thus, it is possible to propose, as an extrapolation of the documented cases, that the inner sides of the pillars showed the same decorative pattern: columns of text complemented by vignettes in the upper part. It is not possible to ascertain whether the proportions of image and text with BD are identical with respect to the sides showing the ritual.

Every side of the eight pillars shows the text copied in eight columns. The vignette occupies around one-sixth of the total height of each side (54 centimeters on the south side of the fourth pillar of the northern row), the hieroglyphic columns taking four parts. In the figures that illustrate this chapter with a virtual reconstruction of the hall, it has been assumed that the height of the scenes is the same on all four sides. On the twenty-four sides with the *Ritual of the Hours*, the vignette shows Karakhamun adoring several deities, different ones on each; the side reconstructed during the 2010 season and the vignette published by R. Lepsius (fig. 9.8)¹⁴ can act as confirmation of this description (see fig. 3.13). The other eight vignettes are taken from the BD and depend on the spell inscribed under them.

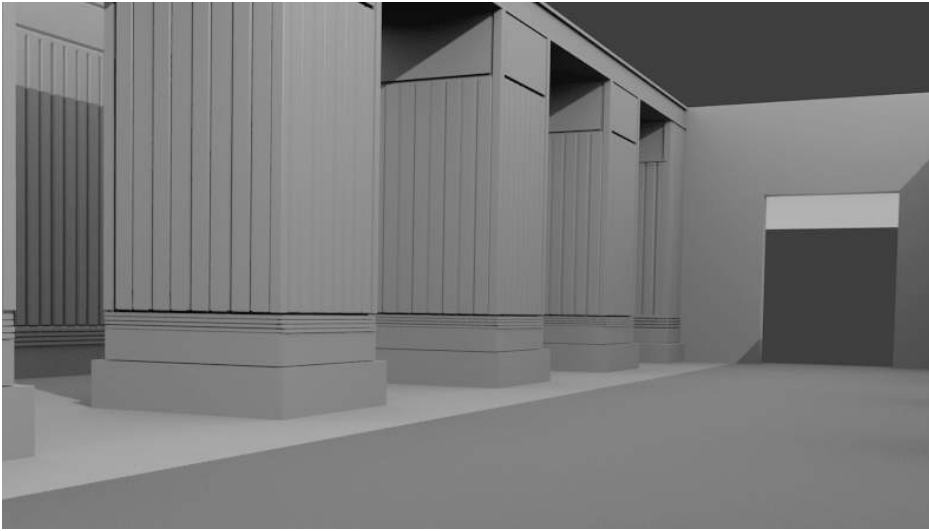


Fig. 9.9. 3D reconstruction of the central aisle of the First Pillared Hall. *Digital model R. Quintero and Miguel Á. Molinero Polo*

On the north and south sides, an architrave surmounting the pillars leans on the eastern and western pilasters (fig. 9.9). On the two sides of the central aisle, it shows a horizontal inscription that begins on the west wall. It presents a *hṯp-dj-nsw* formula written in large-scale hieroglyphs. The reading is not retrograde. Its position has been assured through the joining of some blocks over the northwest pilaster that show the first words of the text: *dd mdw: h3 wsjr* [...].

The walls received no color completing the reliefs of the vignettes or giving additional life to the hieroglyphic signs, except on some rare parts: the east wall/south side (the panel of the offering list). Pillars—the four sides of the southern row and east and south sides of the northern row—are the only architectonic elements of the First Pillared Hall to which color was applied. The hieroglyphs were painted solid blue as well as the dividing strips. Some signs received an additional token of red color to highlight specific parts (fig. 9.10).

The lower parts of all the surfaces were left without decoration. A horizontal frieze marks the bottom of all figurative and textual fields. It is composed of four sculpted narrow dividing strips that create three broader bands. In colored pillars, the strips are black and the bands are red.

The Textual Program

The texts on walls, pillars, and pilasters are retrograde except where noted. This means that the reading of the columns is made in an opposite direction to that indicated by the hieroglyphs, but inside the column, the signs are read in proper order, the front ones before the rear ones.



Fig. 9.10. West side of the first pillar. South row (SP2). First Pillared Hall. Photo Miguel Á. Molinero Polo

In the following pages, the columns are always numbered from left to right; exceptions are clearly signaled. The spells of each wall are detailed in the order in which it can be understood that they have to be read.

Offering Lists of the East Wall

The panels with offering lists are carved over the funerary ritual scenes on the east wall. Of the thirty-six cells on each panel, none of the preserved ones match those of the opposite side except for the two last in reading order, but these are very deteriorated (figs. 9.11 and 9.12). Therefore, there is not a clear indication of whether the two panels are identical or different. However, comparison with a third panel used as a hypothetical model—Barta's type A, that has been complemented with Hesy's offering list, Sixth Dynasty, for the hieroglyphic text and English translation¹⁵—shows an identical series of offerings to the combination of cells from both sides maintaining their original order (table 9.1; the table has been put together following the order of reading, so it should be borne in mind that those of the northern side are inverted). Preserved offerings are detailed below.

First register: (...) 1.4 south: [... *n j^cw*]-*r*, (bread or jugs (?) for) breakfast; 1.5 south: *t-w*[*t*], *wt*-bread—two; 1.6 south: *t-rth*, *rth*-bread—one; 1.7 south: *hṯ*, *hṯ*-bread—two; 1.8 south: [*n*]*hr(w)*, *nhrw*-bread—two; 1.9 south: *dpt(w)*, *dptw*-bread—four; 1.10 south: *pzn(w)*, *pznw*-bread—four; 1.11 south: *šnz*, *šnz*-bread—four; [*t*]-*jmy-t3*, *t-jmy-t3*-bread—four.

Fig. 9.11. Offering list.
East wall, southern
section. First Pillared
Hall. Drawing Miguel Á.
Molinero Polo

Fig. 9.12. Offering list. East wall, northern section. Only the rows of numbers of the second and third registers are partly preserved. First Pillared Hall. Drawing Miguel Á. Molinero Polo

12	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S			
37	36	35	34	33	32	31	30	29			
S	S		S				S			N	N
50	49		46				42			39	38
NS											
90	NS	N	N			N	N	N	N	N	N
89	61	60	59			56	55	54	53	52	51
88											

S: Panel of offerings in south section of east wall, First Pillared Hall, TT 223

N: Panel of offerings in north section of east wall, First Pillared Hall, TT 223

Numbers: Barta's Listentyp A.

Table 9.1. Table of parallels between Karakhamun's offering lists and Old Kingdom prototypes.
Table Miguel Á. Molinero Polo

Second register: 2.1 north: (...)—four; 2.2 north: (...)—four; (...);¹⁶ 2.5 south: *p3[t]*, *p3t*-bread—lost (usually, they are four); (...);¹⁷ 2.9 south: *jw^c*, thigh—lost (usually, one); (...);¹⁸ 2.11 south: *sp^ht* [*nt spr*], rib cut—one; 2.12 south: *3šrt*, roasted piece of meat—two.

Third register: 3.1 north: *mjzt*, liver—lost (usually, one); 3.2 north: *nnšm*, spleen—lost (usually, one); 3.3 north: *h^c*, piece of meat—one; 3.4 north: *jwf n h3t*, fillet¹⁹—one; 3.5 north: *r*, *r*-goose—one; 3.6 north: [*t*] *rp*, *trp*-goose—one; (...);²⁰ 3.9 north: [*m*] *n*[*w*] *t*, pigeon—one; 3.10 north: *sjf*, *sjf*-bread—one; 3.11 north and south: *š^ct*, *š^ct*-bread—two; north and south 12: *h^hnk[t]* *nb(t)*, *rnpt nb(t)*, *ht nb(t)* [*bnrt*], all *h^hnk*-offerings, all *rnpt* (yearly) offerings, every (sweet) thing—four.

Texts of the South Wall and West Wall/Southern Section

South Wall

The wall is divided into two horizontal registers that reproduce the vignette and text of BD 17. The upper one is a unique frieze with a high number of scenes: at least fifteen can be recognized in TT 223—complete or in fragments—from twenty-four registered by H. Milde²¹ (fig. 9.13). The lower register is composed of columns of texts; there are visible signs till column 81, but the total number must rise to around 105.

The spell's title is preserved: "Beginning of extollations and commemorations (to be used at) ascending from and descending into the god's domain and becoming a blessed one in [the Beautiful West]. Being in the retinue of Osiris, being satisfied with the viands of Unnofer. Spell for going forth by day, assuming whatever form one will..."²²

Since column 81 of the south wall reproduces column 68 of pIuefankh, if the text was copied completely and its length was proportional to this version, it might have occupied around thirty more columns in the tomb. Among the stored blocks, parts of the texts in columns 73 to 81 of pIuefankh have been identified, through which

Fig. 9.13. Fragment of the vignette of BD 17. First Pillared Hall. Photo Miguel Á. Molinero Polo



it is possible to deduce that the pattern of copying was similar in the lost section of the wall. The missing part measures 3.48 meters, a length that allows the inclusion of twenty-three or twenty-four columns. The whole text of the spell would not fit in these columns if it were written on the entire wall with the same size and distance between signs as in the eastern part.

West Wall/Southern Section

The wall and pilaster have collapsed completely. No traces of the textual decoration were preserved in situ but it was reconstructed in 2012.

As has been mentioned previously, there was no place for the last columns of BD 17 on the nearby wall. It is possible that, if the spell was included in its entirety, they were copied on this wall. It might have needed six to eight columns more. But other reconstructions that would leave the spell only partially copied are also possible.

As for the rest of the wall, spell BD 18 is suggested. Several stored joined fragments that could make up part of this text have been identified.²³ Besides, a fragment of relief could have been part of its vignette: the head of Osiris protected by a hand; the latter should belong to a goddess. This spell's image is usually the only one in Late Period BD exemplars with this iconography.²⁴ The space available on the wall for this text is clearly not large enough to contain a complete copy.

In other Late Period Theban tombs, BD 18 follows BD 17 (for example, in Harwa),²⁵ confirming that this wall should be considered as the location of the spell. For it to be placed elsewhere in this hall is difficult because, with the exception of a few columns, the textual content of the rest of the walls has already been recognized. The spell must have been considered a secondary continuation of BD 17, since it is cut short in both monuments.

Texts of the North Wall and West Wall/Northern Section

North Wall

Although the spells that were copied on the wall have been recognized, the poor condition of large parts of it makes it impossible to see more than one or two words of some of them. Being retrograde, the texts must be read from right to left, that is, east to west. It is this order that is kept for the following description.

The figures of the deceased in the vignettes look to the left, with the same orientation as the texts. During the excavation of the courtyard in season 2012, fragments of two scenes with the slaughter of serpents were found; these vignettes could be attributed to any of the corresponding spells on this wall.

Columns 101–76(?): BD 19, “Spell for wreaths of vindication”

Half of the first nine columns have been preserved, allowing for the identification of the spell. The poor state of the wall grows worse westward. Till column 79, recognition of the text following the Padihorresnet version can be continued, albeit with difficulty. From that point, it can be calculated that about three more columns of Karakhamun correspond to this spell.

It is one of the oldest examples of the spell known till now.²⁶ Mosher has established five versions that differ by brief additions or deletions to introduce nuances in the religious meaning of the text. However, the part remaining in TT 223 does not include the phrases in which it could be clearly seen to which version its spell belongs. The lack—without security—of some changes seems to suggest that this is version 1.²⁷

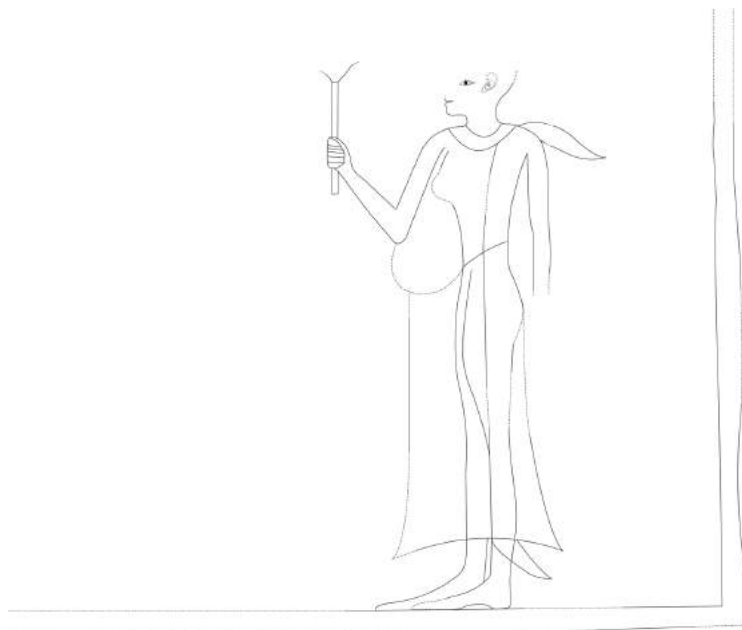


Fig. 9.14. Sistrum player, vignette of BD 19. North wall. First Pillared Hall. Drawing Daniel M. Méndez Rodríguez

A female sistrum player is represented over the first columns of text (fig. 9.14); the rest of the vignette is lost. To complete the missing part, it is possible to turn to the models of the image proposed by Mosher.²⁸ Type 2 includes three elements: Atum, the deceased, and the wreath of vindication between them on a plinth; it cannot be excluded since in at least one document the deceased is followed by his wife.²⁹ Most probably the vignette of TT 223 corresponds to Mosher's type 1. This represents the deceased going forth after death, as stated by the text itself, followed in some documents by his wife.³⁰ Indeed, the nearest parallel to Karakhamun's figure is on the north wall of the courtyard of TT 196. Here, the mother of Padihorresnet is presented playing the sistrum.³¹ In TT 223, the legend is lost, and at least for the moment, it is not known who the woman represented is. Nevertheless, her Kushite dress makes it clear that the image has not been copied slavishly from a previous model, but adapted or created for its use in this tomb.

Columns 75(?)–70(?): (?)

Very badly damaged. Only some signs are preserved, not enough to recognize complete words.

Knowing that the following columns include the spells BD 31 to 42, not in order, the sequence could have been longer and could begin with any of the previous ones. But, for the moment, it is impossible to confirm the presence of these texts.

From column 70, the identification is again sure for the rest of the wall.

Columns 70(?)–68: Spell 36, "Spell for driving off a cockroach":

Only one word of the spell is preserved, *snw*³² in column 69, that fits in the sequence.

Columns 68–66: Spell 37, "Spell for driving off the two *mrt*-snakes"

Only the words *jnk hrw*, *s*³³ are preserved at the bottom of column 67.

Columns 66–63: Spell 38B, "Spell for living on air in the god's domain"

The words [*r*'] *tmw* [*m 3h-bjt*] *jmyw* (col. 65) and *n rhyt* (col. 63) are positive identifications of the spell.³⁴ There should be one or two more columns with the text BD 38B, but no signs are preserved beyond column 63 on this part of the wall.

Columns ... 55–49: Spell 31, "Spell for driving off a crocodile that comes to take N's magic away from him in the god's domain"

Columns 62 to 56 are completely lost. As the text preserved after them makes part of the final part of BD 31, if it was copied complete, it might have occupied at least five or six previous columns. Thus, we can assume that there is no gap in the documented sequence and there was no other spell between BD 38B and 31.

There is no doubt about the identification of BD 31 despite the small number of hieroglyphs preserved.³⁵ It seems that the colophon copied in some papyri was omitted in TT 223. The text seems to diverge from the New Kingdom versions of the chapter.

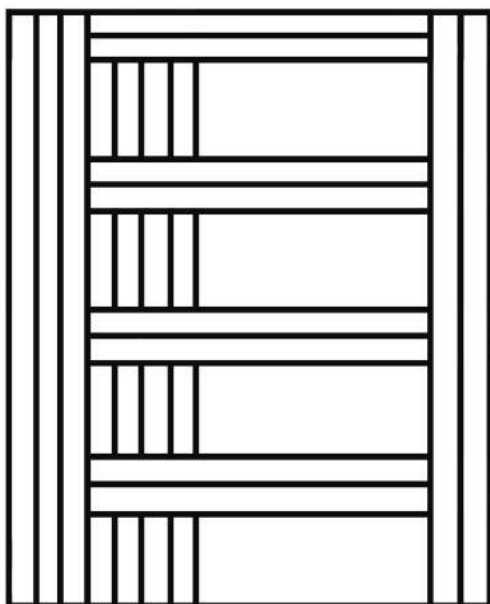


Fig. 9.15. Diagram of placements of text and vignettes of BD 32. North wall. First Pillared Hall. *Drawing Miguel Á. Molinero Polo and R. Quintero*

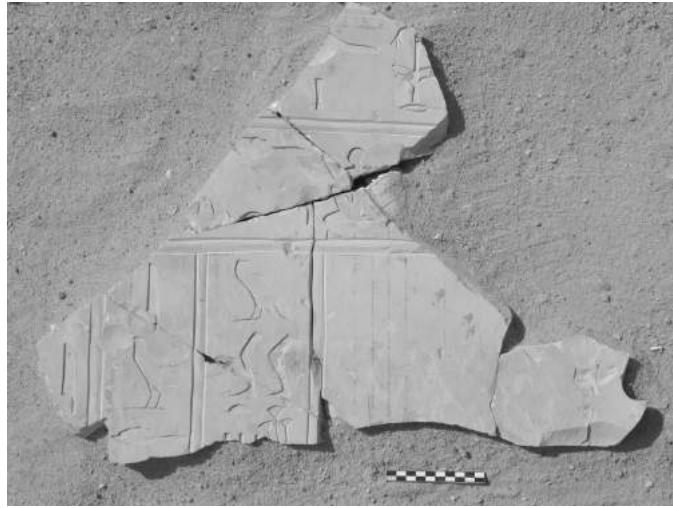
Columns 48–42...: Spell 32, “Spell for driving off the four crocodiles that come to take a man’s magic away from him in the god’s domain”

The copy of this spell, of characteristic textual content, has allowed the artists to create a special disposition for the vignette and the text it contains, occupying the wall from top to bottom (fig. 9.15). The text is composed of three clearly differentiated parts: an introduction; the invocation to the four crocodiles, composed of two speeches to each of them, therefore, eight in total; and a conclusion. Each of these parts has been copied in a specific way.

Columns 48 and 47, occupying the whole height of the wall, display the introduction. The first one includes the titles of Karakhamun, so very probably the text starts in its upper part; the last signs of the second one match the end of this prologue.

The invocation of the crocodiles is reflected on the wall following an original distribution. The texts in this second part of the spell are read from west to east and, therefore, they are not retrograde, but follow the conventional direction. The first address to a crocodile is copied in two horizontal lines spanning four columns of text to the left and the image of the animal to the right; thus, these lines become the upper border of the space devoted to the beast, as can be seen in a block reconstructed with six fragments (fig. 9.16). The second address is copied in four columns delimited by the horizontal lines of the first address and to the left of the image of the animal. The lower signs of the columns devoted to the eighth speech are preserved and confirm the model (fig. 9.17). Milde only mentions similar vertical arrangements of the four crocodiles in the Late Period.³⁶

Fig. 9.16. Reconstruction of a section of BD 32. First Pillared Hall. Photo Miguel Á. Molinero Polo



Fragments belonging to four different figures of crocodiles have been recognized. Three were carved completely and the fourth remained in a state of preliminary drawing. If these placements were confirmed, there might have been two upper carved crocodiles, one of them unfinished, and the fourth lower one again carved (fig. 9.18), implying an unusual direction of work for the sculptor. Hopefully, the joining of new blocks will clarify this question; the answer is probably that the order of the names of the crocodiles was misplaced.

The next three columns, 42 to 40, that occupy the full height of the wall, contain the conclusion of the spell. However, except for some signs,³⁷ the text is lost.

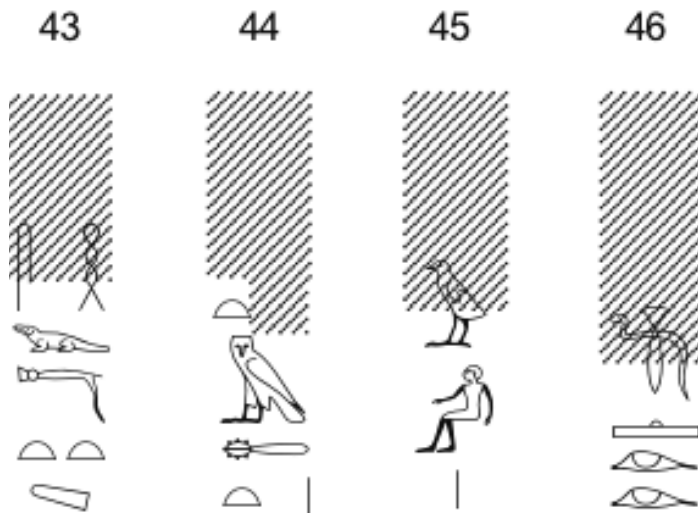


Fig. 9.17. Copy of the preserved text of the eighth invocation to the crocodiles. First Pillared Hall. Miguel Á. Molinero Polo

Columns 39–37: Spell 33, “Spell for warding off a snake”

There are enough words in the north wall to identify the spell without doubt. Since the last signs preserved at the bottom of column 38 are not the final part of the text, it may be suggested that it ends in the next column, 37.

Columns 37–35: Spell 34, “Spell to prevent N’s being bitten by a snake in the god’s domain”
Again, there are enough words in the tomb for a positive identification of the spell. This usually has two titles and the second one is documented on this wall. Since the last signs preserved at the bottom of column 36 are not the end of the spell, it may be suggested that it concludes in the next column, 35.

Columns 35–33: Spell 35, “Spell to prevent N’s being eaten by a snake in the god’s domain”
Since the title was copied in the first column, it should be supposed that either the vignette was not included or both were dissociated. Indeed, a fragment of a scene with a man killing a flat snake has been preserved. The rest of the spell, except for two words, is lost.³⁸

Columns 32–18: Spell 39, “Spell for driving off Rerek in the god’s domain”

This is a long spell, the text of which is mostly lost, except for the last columns. Nevertheless, enough remains of its beginning to assume that there cannot be another spell before this one, and therefore, the sequence is clear. Fragments of the text have been identified in the stored blocks found in the debris.

A portion of a relief with this spell’s title has also been identified. It should have occupied the upper part of the first columns of the spell (fig. 9.19), but there is no evidence to confirm its precise location.

Columns 17–12...: Spell 40, “Spell for repulsing the swallower of the ass”

The identification is positive. Since a part of the spell is missing after column 12,³⁹ it must have been copied, if complete, on the part of the wall that was removed to create a side chamber in the undetermined distant past. Therefore, there is no chance to recover it now.

The gap is the width of seven columns, following the measurement of the nearby ones. It has enough space to contain the end of BD 40 and also BD 41, which is quite short, if it followed.

Fig. 9.18.
Crocodile of
the North. First
Pillared Hall.
Photo Katherine
Blakeney, SACP

Columns 4–1: Spell 42, “Spell for warding off the harm that is done in Heracleopolis”

The spell has three parts: an introduction; a list of the deified deceased’s bodily members; and the main part of the text. TT 223’s draftsmen calculated the length of

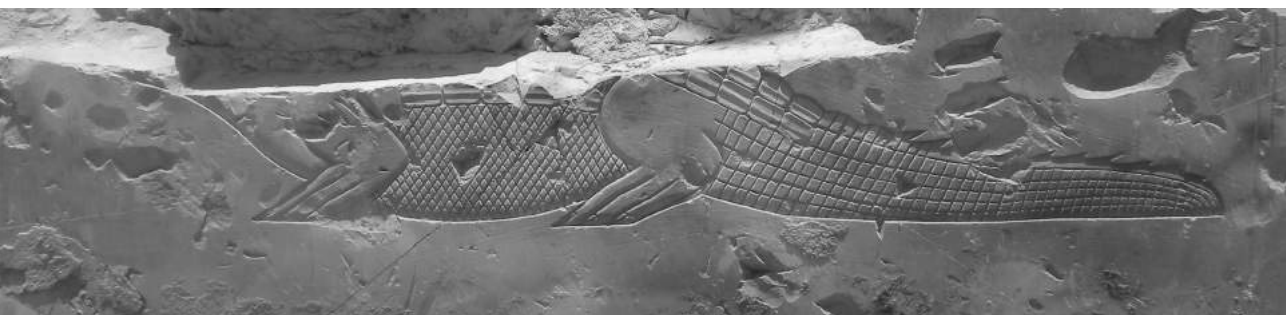




Fig. 9.19. Vignette of
BD 39. First Pillared Hall.
Photo Miguel Á. Molinero
Polo

the introduction and its placement in the available space, since the last signs of the first part arrive at the bottom of column 1, which is also the end of the wall. In the upper part of the nearby west wall, the panel of deified members begins.

A vignette surmounted the first columns: a man spearing an enemy, now lost, at his feet. Only its title can be partially read: $[r(3) \ n] \ hsf \ s^c t \ [n \ z] \ m \ [hrt] - ntr$. This text does not correspond to the title of BD 42, which should be $r(3) \ n \ hsf \ s^c t \ jryt \ m \ nn - nsw$. According to M. Tarasenko, the scene of the man spearing a backbone had ceased to be used as the vignette of the spell in the early Twenty-first Dynasty and, in fact, Late Period papyri do not display the image at the beginning.⁴⁰ TT 223 shows a transitional situation. Exceptionally, the vignette appears over the columns of BD 42, but its legend corresponds to that of BD 41 in the Late Period⁴¹—a moment when a new image was used for this spell that combined two disused subtypes of BD 42: the deceased piercing by spear both a snake and a backbone. Having found only a part of the relief, it is not possible for the moment to confirm what is transpired by the deceased. Consequently, it is hard to determine whether this was the first documented appearance of this new type of image, here still used to illustrate BD 42.

West Wall/Northern Section

The northern section of the west wall is divided into a set of seven columns with a three-register panel and another seven columns that occupy its total height, from top to bottom. They are inscribed with the continuation of BD 42, which begins on the adjoining north wall. It is rather well preserved, but it was not completely copied, since there was no place for its last part on the wall, and it is unlikely that it was inscribed on the nearby pilaster.

The northern half of the wall shows a frame with three registers, each of them subdivided into three sections: columns/horizontal line/columns. The upper register is composed of seven columns; the central and lower registers are made of six.

A similar distribution is present in late papyri,⁴² but it is different from the image in New Kingdom documents. In the latter it appears as a shrine either surrounding twenty columns distributed in two registers, ten in each one (Tarasenko's type B1: mainly Eighteenth Dynasty), or in one register with different models (Tarasenko's type B2).⁴³ In other documents, the text is written in regular horizontal lines without the architectural frame.⁴⁴ Following Tarasenko's description, Karakhamun's tomb might show the first documented example of its distribution of columns (7/6/6 in three sections) with one element less than those of the New Kingdom: nineteen.

The text shows the identification of every part of the body of the deceased to the same member of a different god, the so-called *Gliedervergöttung* in religious bibliography. In TT 223 it is distributed as follows: limb (upper columns) / *n wsjr* [titles and name of Karakhamun] *m* (horizontal line) / name of a god (lower columns). The text of every horizontal line is retrograde.

Texts of the North Row of Pilasters and Pillars

Northeast Pilaster

North side: BD 117, "Spell for taking the road into Rosetau"


Only the lower part of the four columns is preserved. The side was inscribed with a complete version of BD 117, a rather brief spell that must have been copied entirely. No traces of the vignette have been found, but following the pattern identified on the southwest pilaster, this side should have it. An interesting question is raised by the fact that the spell's vignette on papyrus is the god Anubis grasping the hand of the deceased and guiding him to the hereafter. The relief on the south side of the passage between the First and Second Pillared Halls in TT 223 is a development of a similar image with the addition of two more figures.

South side: BD 43, "Spell for not letting N's head [be] cut off from him in the god's domain" It is more destroyed than the north side and only several signs on the lower part of three columns are readable. Those of the fourth are titles and names. It is the half-preserved signs in the third column (*nsrt*, *tp=f*) that can be used for identification.⁴⁵ A block with words of BD 43 recognized in the 2012 season can be taken as confirmation of the spell.⁴⁶

North Row of Pillars

The east, south, and west sides show the *Ritual of the Hours of the Day*. Every hour occupies one side, beginning with the 1st hour in the east and following—with some exceptions—through the three sides mentioned toward the west. The text includes the cosmographic part and the hymn as in other late tombs.

Only a small portion of some of these sides is preserved in the tomb, but blocks belonging to this ritual are being identified and joined in the magazine.

- 1st pillar, east side: 1st hour. Positive identification, since nearly half of the text is preserved.⁴⁷
- 1st pillar, south side: 2nd hour. Several blocks have been found with the name of the hour that opens the text in the first column.
- 1st pillar, west side: 3rd hour. Remains of some signs at the bottom of three columns; more meaningful are the blocks joined in the storerooms with parts of three columns corresponding to the first ones of this hour.⁴⁸
- 2nd pillar, west side: side of the 6th hour. Signs at the bottom of six columns are readable, but are mainly titles; the text in column 4 that should belong to the hymn cannot be identified in the consulted editions. In Pabasa it is a “second version of the hymn”—following E. Graefe’s denomination—that is used,⁴⁹ but it is badly damaged and the readable part shows no parallels with the text preserved in TT 223.
- 3rd pillar, east side: side of the 7th hour. It is completely lost in the tomb, but several joined blocks in the magazine have allowed the identification of the second version of the hymn as the one selected for Karakhamun.⁵⁰ This is rather infrequent, since it is only found elsewhere in the tomb of Pabasa and the temples of Edfu and Armant.
- 3rd pillar, south side: side of the 8th hour. The lower part of seven columns is preserved and, surprisingly, it is the 6th hour that is copied here.⁵¹ This is not the only case, since it also happens in the tomb of Pabasa and in the temple of Edfu.
- 3rd pillar, west side: 9th hour. Some signs have been recognized in blocks stored in the magazine.
- 4th pillar, east side. The 10th hour should be inscribed in the east side of the westernmost pillar. Only some signs are preserved: verb *m3^c* (col. 2),  (col. 3). This word and this sign do not appear in any of the known versions of the text. But *m3^c* is present in the ancient version of the hymn (second part) of the 11th hour.⁵² Indeed, in the tomb of Pabasa the side intended for the 10th hour was inscribed with the first version of the hymn of the 11th hour.⁵³ Therefore, even if the evidence is weak, the changes to the expected order seen in the 6th, 7th, and 8th hours give enough confidence to propose that modification of the 10th hour could have been made in the tomb of Karakhamun as well.
- 4th pillar, south side: 11th hour. A side of the pillar was reconstructed during the 2010 season from top to bottom, including the vignette in the upper part. This produced the total height of the decorated surface and around half of the text. The beginning corresponds with the cosmographical introduction and its continuation with the recent variant, the second version of the hymn. This is only attested in Pabasa, Sheshonq, Edfu, and a small part of it in Dendara. The reconstruction of this side and several scattered blocks found in the debris belonging to other pillars have allowed recognition that the vignettes of the *Ritual of the*

Day reproduce scenes already known from other tombs: the deceased kneeling in front of two deities, Ra-Horakhty always as the first paired with a different deity on each vignette, or in this case, a group of deities. (See figure 4.11).

- 4th pillar, north side: 12th hour. A fifth part of the spell is preserved in situ and some blocks in the magazine make the identification positive.⁵⁴

As for the north side of the four pillars, where the ritual is not copied, it has been possible to identify the texts as spells of the BD. From east to west:

1st pillar: BD 79, "Spell for becoming the greatest in the council"

Enough text is preserved to understand that it corresponds to this spell;⁵⁵ there was probably no space to copy it completely. The lower part of the vignette has also been recognized among the stored blocks.

2nd pillar: BD 89, "Spell for making the soul attach (itself to) one's corpse in the god's domain"

A few hieroglyphs are preserved in situ, enough to recognize the text.⁵⁶ The spell was copied completely, except the colophon. For the moment, no traces of the vignette have been identified.

3rd pillar: BD 85, "Assuming the form of a (living) soul and not entering the place of execution"

The pillar is completely lost, but the identification of some corner blocks with the last column of the 9th Hour of the Day has allowed the placement of the signs from the other side of this pillar. Only some words of two columns of text have been recognized for the moment, but the identification is certain.⁵⁷ The rather wide blank space over the text suggests that the vignette was the usual image of an isolated *b3* with no other elements around.

4th pillar: BD 92, "Spell for opening the tomb for the soul and for the shadow, going forth by day, and controlling one's feet"

In the squares around the northwest corner of the hall, some blocks were found that were joined together to compose a substantial part of the vignette of BD 92 (fig. 9.20). This information prompted a search for the text, and a rather high number of its fragments have been found in the blocks coming from this area. Since this is the only side pillar in that part of the tomb for which no definite text has been recognized, the blocks can be attributed to it with certainty.

Northwest Pilaster

South side: BD 58, "Spell for breathing air and having water available in the god's domain"

A row of *dd mdw* signs preside over every column of text. During the previous seasons, mainly in 2011, the spell has been reconstructed through the joining of nearly

a hundred fragments. An additional difficulty in this task came from the fact that the text presents several deviations from standard versions.

East side: BD 72, "Spell for going forth by day and penetrating the underworld"
Although partly fallen, the identification of several blocks has produced a nearly complete spell. It is, thus far, the best-preserved text in the tomb. Even the image has been reconstructed partially.

North side: BD 119, "Spell for knowing the names of Re and entering and going forth from Rosetau"

Only the lowest signs of column 1 are preserved.⁵⁸ The spell is a brief one that could be copied completely in the available space.

Texts of the South Row of Pilasters and Pillars

Southeast Pilaster

North side: BD 51, "Spell for not walking upside down in the god's domain"

The lower part of the four columns, around a third of its contents, is preserved. It is inscribed with a complete version of BD 51, a very brief spell that has been copied entirely.



Fig. 9.20. Vignette of BD 92. First Pillared Hall. Photo Miguel Á. Molinero Polo

South side: BD 44, “Spell for not dying again”

Some hieroglyphs are preserved on the bottom of columns 3 and 4 that make up part of BD 44.⁵⁹ Even though it is not a long spell, it is unlikely to have been complete, since by the end of column 3 less than a third of the text has been copied.

South Row of Pillars

The west, north, and east sides show the *Ritual of the Hours of the Night*. Every hour occupies one side, beginning with the 1st hour in the west and following through the sides mentioned toward the east. The identification is secured through a comparison with the pillars of Pabasa, those of Padihorresnet—although the text copied on them is so brief that its usefulness is limited—and the BD spells that Graefe has related to every hour.⁶⁰

All sides are preserved, generally in better condition than the pillars of the north row, but large parts of the texts are also lost.

- 4th pillar, west side: 1st hour. After the Prussian expedition, R. Lepsius published the image of a relief coming from Karakhamun’s tomb (fig. 9.8).⁶¹ It has to be the vignette of this hour, since this is the only one that represents the deceased standing in front of Ra-Horakhty and the goddess of the hour.⁶² Nowadays, only several signs remain on the base of the pillar, but large fragments of the upper part of the columns have been identified and joined in the storage rooms. Their location is definite because the text of these blocks follows the signs drawn in the image published by the German Egyptologist. This also confirms the hour ritual copied on this side.⁶³
- 4th pillar, north side: side corresponding to the 2nd hour. Very small number of signs preserved. The presence of *nb hr wꜥ* (BD 71) assures its identification.
- 4th pillar, east side: 3rd hour. A fifth part of the text is still in situ; the reference to *bjk* (col. 1, BD 71) can be a clue for identification.
- 3rd pillar, west side: 4th hour. The identification is positive. A third of the spell is well preserved.⁶⁴
- 3rd pillar, north side: 5th hour. Around a third of the surface is in place. The identification of the hour is certain through the structure of the text.⁶⁵
- 3rd pillar, east side: 6th hour. More than a third of the text is preserved.⁶⁶
- 2nd pillar, west side: 7th hour. Scarcely a fifth part of the inscribed side survives.⁶⁷
- 2nd pillar, north side: 8th hour. Only a few signs are visible at the bottom of the pillar. Nevertheless, parallels are found with the well-preserved text in Pabasa’s tomb.⁶⁸
- 2nd pillar, east side: 9th hour. Less than a fifth of the spell remains.⁶⁹
- 1st pillar, west side: 10th hour. Around a fifth of the text remains on the pillar.⁷⁰
- 1st pillar, north side: 11th hour. Only some hieroglyphs are preserved.
- 1st pillar, east side: 12th hour. Around a third part of the hour ritual remains.⁷¹

The south side of the pillars was inscribed with spells of the BD, as was the corresponding side of the north row. But unlike those, the sides of three pillars show two short spells instead of one. The following description is from east to west.

1st pillar: BD 54 (cols. 8–4) and 55 (cols. 3–1), “Spell for giving breath to N in the god’s domain” and “Spell for giving breath in the god’s domain”
More than a third of both spells are preserved, therefore the identification is certain. No traces of the vignette have been found.

2nd pillar: BD 105 (cols. 8–3) and 106 (cols. 3–1), “Spell for gratifying N’s spirit for him in the god’s domain” and “Spell for giving offering to N in Memphis and in the god’s domain”
Only the bottoms of the columns are preserved, but enough to identify both spells. Several blocks have also been recognized that allow a reconstruction of most of the second one. The title of BD 106 was also included in the columns. The last words of the text could not be copied for lack of space. No traces of the vignette have been found, if a preserved figure of Ptah is to be considered the one for the east side of the southwest pilaster. It was perhaps the image of BD 105 that was carved on the pillar.

3rd pillar: BD 59 (cols. 8–4), “Spell for breathing air and having water available in the god’s domain” and BD 60 (cols. 4–1), without title
Nearly half of the spells are preserved, thus the identification poses no doubt. Both were copied complete.

4th pillar: BD 93, “Spell for not letting N be ferried to the East in the god’s domain”
Identification is based on a very small number of signs at the bottom of several columns and one block;⁷² it needs further confirmation, but is plausible.

Southwest Pilaster

The corner of the tomb where this pilaster was carved was completely lost when uncovered during the excavation process. The identification of joins for a good number of blocks in the magazine allowed the recognition of the spells inscribed on them and, during the 2012 season, their replacement in the tomb. The pilaster has, thus, passed from being nonexistent to being rebuilt to its upper part, giving hope for the future restoration of the rest of the monument.

South side: BD 94, “Spell for obtaining water bowl and palette”

More than half of the text is now in place. The spell was copied complete. A large portion of the vignette has also been recovered. The scene shows Karakhamun offering to Thot the instruments of writing mentioned in the title, expecting to receive them back, following the principles of offering. The god, wearing the sash of lector-priest, is shown with his back to the east, opposite to the direction expected, probably to conform to the direction of the text reading. The quality of the carving is rather low, leading to an understanding that poorly skilled artisans were appointed to areas less exposed to view.



Fig. 9.21. Vignette of BD 82.
First Pillared Hall. Photo
Miguel Á. Molinero Polo

East side: BD 82, "Spell for assuming the form of Ptah, eating bread, drinking beer, excreting from the anus, and existing alive in Heliopolis"

A fifth part of the text has been reconstructed.⁷³ The spell was probably copied completely. The most common vignette of BD 82 is a figure of Ptah, often with an offering table with food in front; in New Kingdom Theban tombs, the deceased is also a common feature, but is absent from papyri.⁷⁴ The three elements are present in the TT 223 image (fig. 9.21).

North side: BD 106, "Spell for giving offerings to N in Memphis and in the god's domain"

The words *dd-mdw* were carved in the upper part of every column, a feature shared with the parallel south side of the northwest pilaster. They have helped to confirm the location of several blocks, meaningful for the identification of the spell. This task has been made harder by a version that seems nearer to the New Kingdom than to the Late Period, while for most of the spells in the First Pillared Hall, late documents have been a usual source for the search of parallels.⁷⁵

Conclusions

During the Twenty-first and the first part of the Twenty-second Dynasties, there was a deep focalization of both creative and economic efforts in funerary items at the expense

of burial space.⁷⁶ BD and Amduat scrolls of the period had an unprecedented quality of elaboration and iconographical wealth. When planning TT 223's decoration—in particular of the First Pillared Hall—the models that their creators must have had in mind might have been these kind of papyri, which were made until several decades before. Books had acted as substitutes for tombs in previous generations and for Karakhamun's designers the tombs' walls recovered the uses and meaning of these books.⁷⁷

As the oldest known example of the Late Period revival of monumental mortuary building, the tomb of Karakhamun becomes a reference for analyzing the appearance and development of new iconographical motifs as well as textual decoration characteristic of Theban late temple tombs. The image of the proprietor directing his hands toward an offering table and the list over it represented near the entrance,⁷⁸ the scenes of offering bearers in the proximity of the foodstuff panel, the architecture of the Pillared Hall with eight pillars and certain literary compositions in specific locations (BD 17, *Ritual of the Hours*),⁷⁹ features already present in this tomb, would become fundamental elements of these monuments.

In the preceding description of TT 223's textual decoration, the iconographical novelties presented by BD vignettes in respect to previous documents have been highlighted. Most of them would be integrated in later versions, but there are also some elements that would disappear later. In the BD 17 frieze, Karakhamun playing senet is a recuperated Ramesside feature, since the game board was substituted by an offering table from the Twenty-first Dynasty on.⁸⁰ A similar situation is posed by the image of the Herakleopolitan lake, here with the physiognomy of a fecundity figure (fig. 9.22), which is again a revival of archaic models in contrast with those introduced in the Third Intermediate Period.⁸¹ Moreover, the priest carrying a small statue of Min, characteristic of Late Period papyri, still has not been introduced, but the solar ship with rowing crew is already in the place it takes in late documents.⁸² The tomb displays the second oldest version known of BD 19 and its oldest vignette. The vertical arrangement of the four crocodiles in BD 32 is paralleled in Ptolemaic papyri. BD 42 presents a curious mixture of tradition, a vignette at the beginning that slides later to BD 41, and the novelty of a *Gliedervergöttung* distributed in nineteen cells over three registers (7/6/6) with one element less than those of the New Kingdom. The vignette of BD 82 employs its longest version, usually abridged in late exemplars. Every image preserved shows a difference in respect to immediate preceding ones, an evident result of a reflection on the iconographic component of the BD spells.

This reflection probably also included the textual content of the spells. It can be verified that in previous pages, for most of the texts, a clear parallel with the Ptolemaic papyrus of Iuefankh has been signaled, a comparison resolved differently in only a few specific cases. A careful analysis of the texts is the next step in the research of the SACP epigraphical team; the incomplete state of preservation has made this study difficult so far and gradual reconstruction will make it feasible in subsequent seasons.

The information now available on BD papyri of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty shows that the canonical ordering of spells that is one of the most evident features



Fig. 9.22. Vignette of BD 17.
Photo Miguel Á. Molinero Polo

of the so-called 'Saite recension' had not yet been created, or at least, had not been transferred to this type of surface which is indeed the most appropriate to its display. In pMoskau Puschkin Museum I, 1b, 121, recently published, the spells are not organized under this Saite sequence.⁸³ The date of the burial assemblage of the proprietor, Tashepenkhonsu, is put, after J. Taylor, between the end of the eighth century and the third decade of the seventh,⁸⁴ slightly later than Karakhamun. By contrast, pPadinemty, of a less secure date,⁸⁵ presents a sequence of spells close to the Saite in its scarce preserved remains.⁸⁶ It would confirm the delay to some later generations of the appearance of this ordering (documented in pNespasefy and pTasheretenaset of the beginning of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty), as is reflected in the name given to it by historians of Egyptian religious texts.

Moreover, a tomb is not, in principle, the ideal place to test a linear ordering of spells, because of its architectural characteristics. Surfaces to be covered with texts are not continuous, lend to cross relations, and extend over elements of diverse practical and symbolic senses. Thus, the *Ritual of the Hours*, originally uttered by the king as active support of the universe, is perhaps copied on the pillars in recognition of the value of these as the main sustainers of the chamber. In a tomb, in which the area for the copying of text is more limited than in papyri, the selection of spells according to the place they have to occupy and their symbolism can be

more important than its accumulation. This might be inferred from Twenty-sixth Dynasty Theban tombs, carved when the Saite recension was undoubtedly already created, that do not show the canonical sequence. In this circumstance, the spells' distribution in tombs seems to have been influenced by respect for conventions created during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty.⁸⁷ The texts of the double row of pillars and pilasters south of Montemhat's second courtyard represent a certain exception. Chronologically very close to the first papyri with Saite order, the spells are carved from 21 to 42 followed by 14 and 74 to 76 in the south row, and 79 to 88, 72 to 73, and 54 to 62 in the central row.⁸⁸ Yet, in TT 223 it can be seen that the spells copied on continuous surfaces tend to be in an order close to the one in papyri from the Saite period on.

BD 17–18 cannot be taken into account as they have been paired since the formation of the BD, as seen in the coffin of Queen Montuhotep or in the shroud of Thutmose III.

On the southern side of the south row of pillars, BD 54–55 is a traditional pairing, as it can be seen at least since the beginning of the Twenty-first Dynasty (pGatseshen, pPaennesettauy, and others); by contrast, previous pairings of 59–60 and 105–106 are not documented in the *Totenbuch Projekt* database.

On the north wall, the spells for protecting the deceased against poisonous beasts are written as: 36–37–38B–31–32–33–34–35(?)–39–40–41(?) and are followed by BD 42. Twenty-first Dynasty papyri already included these spells and vignettes (only some are missing) in one sequence, but with a different ordering;⁸⁹ in TT 223, they appear in three shorter series internally organized as 36–38B, 31–35(?), 39–42, that announce the Saite arrangement. In later monumental tombs, those spells and placements are not attested again, since funerary complexes built after Karakhamun tend to show Pyramid Texts (Harwa, Pabasa, Sheshonq)⁹⁰ or different combinations of compositions on this wall. A confirmation that the process of fixing the spells' Saite order was underway during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, is in the tomb of Montemhat. Here, two generations after Karakhamun in the transition to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, these spells against animals are already shown in the later canonical sequence.⁹¹

BD was in a permanent process of being reworked during a millennium and a half of Egyptian civilization, like any other live cultural creation. The reigns of Thutmose III and Amenhotep III, the post-Amarna era, and the beginning of the Twenty-first Dynasty were moments of deep renewal, each with a specific feature: creation of spells, greater attention to the quality of the images, expansion to new types of surfaces, incorporation of solar elements, revision of the texts through an amalgam of different versions, and so on. None of these variations has been described by historians as a 'new recension,' although the changes at certain times, as in the Third Intermediate Period, were notable. Only the setting of typified versions in which the order of the spells was fixed has led to a 'Saite recension' being distinguished. The tomb of Karakhamun, with its apparent combination of the recovery of Ramesside models and the development of new ones, may be the most eloquent testimony—the high number of spells of



Fig. 9.23. Offerings under the table. North section, east wall. First Pillared Hall. Picture Miguel Á. Molinero Polo

BD allows for this—of a process of Kushite iconographical and, surely, textual revision of the BD that led to the more standardized forms of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.

On Karakhamun's east wall, the ritual objects disposed around an archaic offering table are an opening to new forms of symbolic representation of changing religious ideas.⁹² The oil jar under the chair, absent from tomb decoration for more than half a millennium, would become a very popular motif. The bulimic representations of animals, plants, and processed foods that cover the New Kingdom tables are substituted in these reliefs by a very reduced number of objects. For this very circumstance, they become polysemic signs loaded with different levels of meaning (fig. 9.23). Two *ḥ3tt nt thnw*-vases, several *ḥknw*-jars, a lotus flower capping one of those vessels, a censer, a lettuce, and a stand with *ḥs*-vases are the only offerings of both scenes of the east wall, different in each one. Individually, and in their relationship with others and with the place where they are represented, each can be understood as a symbol of the recovery of bodily capacities, cleanness, and, by derivation, moral purity, rebirth, justification, and union with the gods. At the same

time, the reduction of foodstuffs emphasizes dependence on the gods, who are frequently represented in the tomb itself as providers of benefits for the hereafter.

While the large list of offerings around the entrance wall is also a usual component of late tombs, the scene of the ritual, with the lector-priests intoning the funerary liturgies, *s3hw*, is rather infrequent.⁹³ Nevertheless, its presence gives meaning to the entire textual decoration since this is composed of the uttered spells themselves. As in other funerary documents, the first column of words states that it is the deceased himself—*dd-mdw jn* followed by his titles, name, and *m3'-hrw*—who pronounces the discourse, but the rest of the texts are in the third person. The whole sequence of spells thus acts as a funerary liturgy.

As for the meaning of the BD distribution (fig. 9.24 and table 9.2), the comparison with later tombs is less conclusive, because only a few of them occupy the same place invariably, reproducing the one in Karakhamun, while most are specific to each monument and the relation to the oldest model is not so clear.

The presence of BD 17 on the wall to the left of the entrance becomes almost normative. It is registered, at least, in the tombs of Karakhamun, Harwa, Akhamenru, and Pabasa in Thebes—in the second and fourth without vignette—and in Bakenrenef in Memphis. In Harwa and Bakenrenef, it is followed by BD 18, something that seems to happen also in Karakhamun. In those tombs, it used to be parallel to BD 15, either in the previous courtyard, on both sides of its entrance, or in the next Pillared Hall, on the same side as BD 17, as in TT 223.⁹⁴

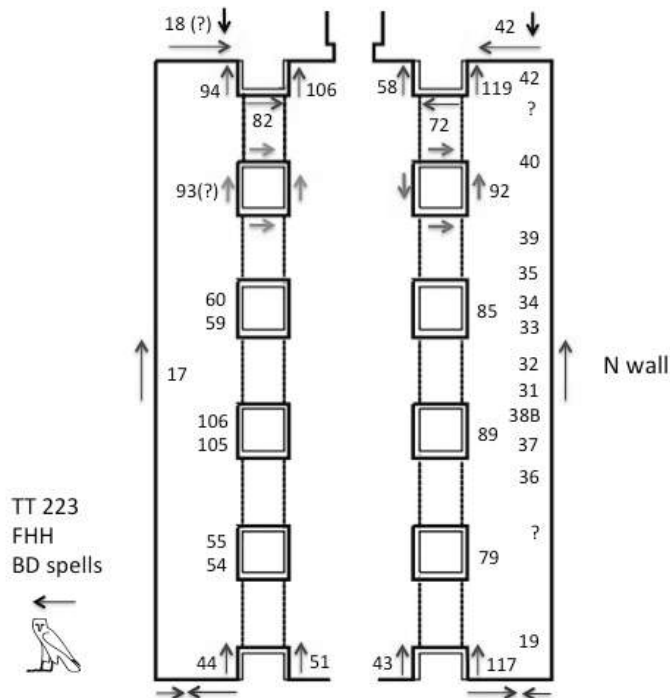


Fig. 9.24. Diagram of placement of BD spells in the First Pillared Hall. Diagram Miguel Á. Molinero Polo

Spells	Vignette	Placement
17	yes	South Wall [+ west wall, south section (?)]
18	yes	West wall, south section
19	yes	North wall
31	unknown / lost	North wall
32	yes	North wall
33	unknown	North wall
34	unknown	North wall
35	unknown	North wall
36	unknown / lost	North wall
37	yes (?)	North wall
38B	unknown / lost	North wall
39	unknown	North wall
40	unknown / lost	North wall
42	yes	North wall + west wall, north section
43	no	Northeast pilaster (NP1), south side
44	unknown / lost	Southeast pilaster (SP1), south side
51	no	Southeast pilaster (SP1), north side
54	unknown / lost	South pillar 1 (SP2), south side
55	unknown / lost	South pillar 1 (SP2), south side
58	no	Northwest pilaster (NP6), south side
59	unknown / lost	South pillar 3 (SP4), south side
60	unknown / lost	South pillar 3 (SP4), south side
72	yes	Northwest pilaster (NP6), east side
79	yes	North pillar 1 (NP2), north side
82	yes	Southwest pilaster (SP6), east side
85	yes	North pillar 3 (NP4), north side
89	unknown / lost	North pillar 2 (NP3), north side
92	yes	North pillar 4 (NP5), north side
93	unknown / lost	South pillar 4 (SP5), south side
94	yes	Southwest pilaster (SP6), south side
105	unknown / lost	South pillar 2 (SP3), south side
106 x2	unknown / lost	South pillar 2 (SP3), south side
	no	Southwest pilaster (SP6), north side
117	unknown / lost	Northeast pilaster (NP1), north side
119	unknown / lost	Northwest pilaster (NP6), north side

Table 9.2. List of BD spells identified in the First Pillared Hall. *Table Miguel Á. Molinero Polo*

The majority of BD spells already identified in the First Pillared Hall reappear in Theban Late Period tombs, but their location varies in each one. As examples, BD 89 was copied in the courtyard in Harwa, Pabasa, Padihorresnet,⁹⁵ and Ankhhor,⁹⁶ and BD 106 occurs in the same place, except in Ankhhor, where it has not been identified.

The incorporation of vignettes in TT 223 suggests a papyrus transferred to the wall. It has to be noted that in those later tombs where there is a significant presence of Pyramid Texts, the First Pillared Hall has no vignettes on the walls, as they are lacking in that composition and a kind of unification of motifs—or rather unification by their absence—has been imposed by eliminating BD images. By contrast, in the Second Pillared Hall of Karakhamun, the short panel with Pyramid Texts has been topped with a relief, nonexistent in origin, representing the oil containers mentioned in the spells; in its location above the text and in its distribution in two registers, the image recalls the offerings frieze over Coffin Texts of Middle Kingdom coffins and tombs.⁹⁷

It is also interesting to advance the idea that the distribution of BD spells could have depended on a general reading in the entire hall (perhaps in the entire tomb).⁹⁸ Four axes of reading can be proposed: north wall and west wall/northern section; north pilasters and pillars; south pilasters and pillars; south wall and west wall/southern section. The modality of integration of the *Ritual of the Hours* is more doubtful, but it should be remembered that the south side of the third southern pillar was inscribed with BD 59, which is one of the spells that was used as the basis for the composition of the *Hours of the Night*, carved on the other side of the same row of pillars.

The first clue is that texts of the southern and northern sections of the west wall do not extend into the adjacent pilasters. This proves anomalous when compared with subsequent tombs that reproduce Karakhamun's spatial model (Harwa, Pabasa), in which, at least in the northwest sector, *Pyramid Text* (PT) 219 was copied on the wall and on the three sides of the nearby pilaster.⁹⁹ In TT 223, it seems that it was intended to leave this architectonic element isolated from the neighboring wall spells. Moreover, there is a clear connection between the spells of each axis: Rosetau appears in both extremes of the north row of pillars, BD 106 appears twice in the southern sequence.

The south wall and west wall/southern section were reserved for the pair BD 17–18. The carving of BD 17 places special significance on this wall, as this is the spell that opens numerous papyri and, in general, is considered one of the most important of the entire composition. It is considered as a kind of summary of the theological concepts contained in the BD.

The north wall and west wall/northern section display a long sequence of texts, but most of them have a common meaning. It begins with BD 19, through which Karakhamun receives a wreath as testimony of justification over his enemies. A series of potential dangers are detailed in the next ten spells: cockroach, different snakes and crocodiles, Rerek, the monster that eats asses. The series finishes with the divinization of each of his members (BD 42) as another form of victory and justification.

On the southern row of pilasters and pillars, the avoidance of the inversion of human functions and the recovery of the vital force seem to be the underlying subject

of this set of spells. The deceased is provided with the ability to overcome a second death (BD 44) and is assured not to walk upside down in the beyond (BD 51), nor to be ferried against his will (BD 93); life is secured procuring him breath (BD 54–55), breath and water (BD 59–60), all kinds of offerings (BD 105–106), and instruments of writing that give him back his social status. These actions are centered in his *k3*, meaningfully playing with the word *k3w*, food. The western pilaster repeats one of the preceding texts and resumes the main subjects in BD 82, a kind of summary of the gifts bestowed in previous texts, besides transforming the deceased into Ptah, a deification comparable to the conclusion of the series of texts on the north wall.

On the northern row of pilasters and pillars, regaining freedom of movement, not falling into certain dangers and, as consequence, going forth during the day, are the highlighted motifs of the texts. Mobility is represented here by Karakhamun's *b3*, on which are centered three sides of the pillars, giving him the capacity to get out of the tomb and rejoin his corpse whenever he desires (BD 85, 89, and 92); the knowledge of the roads of Rosetau and his capability to get out of it are assured by BD 117 and 119; in his displacement he will not lose his head nor will he be taken to the place of execution (BD 43 and 85); another spell empowers him in the beyond as a member of the divine council (79). As in the south row, it is the text (BD 72) of the main side of the western pilaster that summarizes the contents of the north row set of spells: going forth by day, getting out of the tomb, and (re) entering his seat unhindered, whenever he desires.

Lastly, and this is a most speculative proposal, in the spells that precede the door of the Second Pillared Hall (BD 72 and 58), a reference to stellar bodies could be understood. Both texts mention *msqt*, a celestial region traversed by stars and the sun in their orbits; this is probably the Milky Way. Also, BD 58 defends the deceased against a monster called *s3q b3w*, “devourer of *bau*.”¹⁰⁰ The door nearby is the necessary passageway to enter the hall, with the staircase in the floor allowing access to the burial chamber. In it, an impressive figure of Nut, the mythological personification of the Milky Way, ensures the deceased his eternal rebirthing, while on her north side, a figure of the constellation *s3q* is still well preserved, depicted as a dangerous crocodile.


Notes

- * The author warmly thanks K. Blakeney for her careful reading of this chapter's language.
- 1 Werner Forman and Stephen Quirke, *Hieroglyphs and the Afterlife in Ancient Egypt* (London: The British Museum Press, 1996), 147–54.
- 2 Irmtraut Munro, with contributions from John H. Taylor, *Der Totenbuch-Papyrus der Ta-schep-en-Chonsu aus der späten 25. Dynastie* (pMoskau Puschkin-Museum I, 1b, 121) (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 2009).
- 3 Irmtraut Munro, “Evidence of a Master Copy Transferred from Thebes to the Memphis Area in Dynasty 26,” *BMSAES* 15 (2010): 203, n. 3: pNew Haven ACC 1999 1216-e +pParis Louvre E. 17032: <http://www.totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm112523>.
- 4 pTasheretenaset and pBM EA 10588; perhaps also pTurin 1842, but it is not complete and cannot be affirmed with certainty, see Munro, “Evidence of a Master Copy,” 204.

- 5 Ernesto Schiaparelli, *Il libro dei funerali degli antichi Egiziani* (Rome: Loescher, 1881), 307–308.
- 6 Miguel Á. Molinero Polo and Daniel M. Méndez-Rodríguez. We were joined part-time by Alba Villar (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid) and Soraya Luján (Universidad de La Laguna) during the 2011 season.
- 7 Research Project HUM 2007—63785 of the Spanish Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia and FEDER.
- 8 The work with the blocks done by our colleague, Kenneth Griffin, as part of his own project on the texts of the Second Pillared Hall, has led him to identify some of the First Pillared Hall spells for which there were no clear or very scarce remains on the walls: spells BD 43, 85, 93, and 119, along with some blocks from the pillars with the *Ritual of the Hours of the Day*. I am grateful for his kindness in notifying me of them during the writing process of this chapter.
- 9 Containers of *hknw*-oil and *h3tt nt thnw*-oil were also the most common under the chair of the tomb owner. Elena Pischikova, “Representations of Ritual and Symbolic Objects in Late XXVth Dynasty and Saite Private Tombs,” *JARCE* 31 (1994): 65.
- 10 Pischikova, “Representations of Ritual and Symbolic Objects,” 65.
- 11 The upper left part of the list is still readable in the south section and some columns of the lower third register in the north section. See below.
- 12 North section: the figures are rather well preserved, except for the third in both registers; texts are partially readable. South section: the figures of both groups are much deteriorated, but it is possible to recognize the same priests and gestures as in the north section, except for the last one of the lower register, whose action is different.
- 13 As an example of ritual performers with this title in similar scenes, see Norman de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Puyemrê at Thèbes*, Vol. 2 (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1923), pl. LVIII.
- 14 Richard K. Lepsius, *Denkmaeler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien nach den Zeichnungen der von Seiner Majestät dem Könige von Preussen Friedrich Wilhelm IV*, part 3 (Berlin: Nicolaische Buchhandlung, 1849–59), plate Bl. 282 e.
- 15 Winfried Barta, *Die Altägyptische Opferliste von der Frühzeit bis zur griechisch-römischen Epoche* (Berlin: Bruno Hessling, 1963), 47–50; Naguib Kanawati and Mahmud Abder-Raziq, *The Têti Cemetery at Saqqara 5: The Tomb of Hesi* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1999), 46–50, and pl. 64.
- 16 The next two cells are lost in both panels. In the tomb of Hesi, these cells plus the two previous ones mention: four bowls of *hnfw* bread, four *hbnwt* breads, four *qmhw qm3* breads, four *jd3t h'k* breads. Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *The Têti Cemetery at Saqqara*, 48.
- 17 Three offerings are lost. In the panel of Hesi they are: four *3sr* breads, four bowls of onions, and one foreleg. Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *The Têti Cemetery at Saqqara*, 48.
- 18 Only one empty cell, but in Hesi's list, there are two entries that could correspond to this field: one kidney (*zhn*) and one piece of *swt* meat. Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *The Têti Cemetery at Saqqara*, 48. There are no traces that could help to deduce which one was in TT 223.
- 19 For the translation, see Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *The Têti Cemetery at Saqqara*, note 184.

- 20 For these two cells, only the determinative of the offering—a goose on top of a vessel—and the number—one in both cases—are preserved. Hesy's panel mentions here a *zt* duck and a *s* goose. Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *The Têti Cemetery at Saqqara*, 48.
- 21 Henk Milde, *The Vignettes in the Book of the Dead of Neferrenpet* (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1991), 31–54.
- 22 For the English translation of the spells' titles in this chapter, see Thomas G. Allen, *The Book of the Dead or Going Forth by Day: Ideas of the Ancient Egyptians Concerning the Hereafter as Expressed in their Own Terms*, SAOC 37 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), 26–32.
- 23 They correspond to parts of columns 18.10 to 18.13 of pLuefankh. For this papyrus, see Richard K. Lepsius, *Das Totdenbuch der Ägypter nach dem hieroglyphischen Papyrus in Turin* (Leipzig: Wigand, 1842), 11–13.
- 24 For example, Isis in the first vignette of BD 18 in pLuefankh (see Lepsius, *Das Totdenbuch*, plate XI). In Padihorresnet's tomb, not one of the four depictions of Isis appearing in the ten vignettes of this spell raises her hand making this gesture: all hold a scepter, either *w3s* or *w3d*. Nevertheless, there is a Sekhmet in the first vignette who makes this protective action; see Erhart Graefe, *Das Grab des Padihorresnet, Obervermögensverwalter der Gottesgemahlin des Amun (Thebanisches Grab Nr. 196)*, Monumenta Aegyptiaca 9 (Tournhout: Brepols; Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Elisabeth, 2003), vol. II, plate V11. On Late Period papyri, a complementary image was added to the vignette BD V110—usually called V110c, following the denomination of Thomas G. Allen (*The Egyptian Book of the Dead: Documents in the Oriental Institute Museum at the University of Chicago* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1960), 185)—that also includes a scene with Isis making the gesture of protection, but for the moment it is only attested after the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. Moreover there is no space with 'unidentified' spells in the tomb for such a large vignette and no fragment of it has been recognized.
- 25 Silvia Einaudi, "Le Livre des Morts dans les Tombes Monumentales Tardives de l'Assassif," *BSFE* 183 (2012): 17.
- 26 Mosher had assumed that its composition would have been made during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty and puts forward as argument that several Theban coffins of the end of this period already include the spell; he mentions as reference the work of Allen, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead*, 34, note 55, where the coffins are enumerated: CGC 41037, 41044, and 41068; see Malcolm Mosher Jr., "Five Versions of Spell 19 from the Late Period Book of the Dead," in *Egypt and Beyond: Essays Presented to Leonard H. Lesko upon his Retirement from the Wilbour Chair of Egyptology at Brown University June 2005*, edited by Steven E. Thompson and Peter der Manuelian (Providence, RI: Brown University Department of Egyptology and Ancient Western Asian Studies, 2008), 237. Nevertheless, in the Totenbuchprojekt database, two older registers can be checked. The text in stele CGC 20738 is doubtful, but it appears in pVaticano 38592 of the Twenty-first or Twenty-second Dynasty, without vignette; see *Das Altägyptische Totenbuch Ein Digitales Textzeugenarchiv*, 2013, totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/object/tm134619.
- 27 Mosher, "Five Versions of Spell 19," 237–52.
- 28 Type 3 can be excluded, since the second personage in front of the deceased is a priest offering him the wreath of vindication, and all documents are Memphite. Mosher, "Five Versions of Spell 19," 257.

- 29 pLouvre N5450, see Mosher, "Five Versions of Spell 19," 257. The Memphite origin of the document is not a major drawback, as there was always a transfer of copies from Thebes to this center and also, possibly, in the opposite direction.
- 30 Mosher, "Five Versions of Spell 19," 255.
- 31 Graefe, *Das Grab des Padihorresnet*, vol. 2, Taf. V11, Vig. 56. Of the two Saite documents compiled by Mosher ("Five Versions of Spell 19," 256, fig. 8), the woman of pBM 10558 does not play an instrument, while the one of *plahtesnacht* seems to hold it in her hand.
- 32 For parallels, see pIuefankh col. 36.1 (Lepsius, *Das Tottenbuch der Ägypter*).
- 33 For parallels, see pIuefankh col. 37.2 (Lepsius, *Das Tottenbuch der Ägypter*).
- 34 For parallels, see pIuefankh cols. 38.1 and 38.3 (Lepsius, *Das Tottenbuch der Ägypter*).
- 35 For parallels, see pIuefankh cols. 31.7 to 31.11 (Lepsius, *Das Tottenbuch der Ägypter*).
- 36 Milde, *The Vignettes in the Book of the Dead*, 234.
- 37 For parallels, see pIuefankh cols. 32.7 and 32.8 (Lepsius, *Das Tottenbuch der Ägypter*).
- 38 For parallels, see pIuefankh col. 35.2 (Lepsius, *Das Tottenbuch der Ägypter*).
- 39 For parallels of the preserved words, see plufenakh cols. 40.1 to 40.5 (Lepsius, *Das Tottenbuch der Ägypter*); there are no words preserved on the wall for the text of pIuefankh cols. 40.6 and 40.7 (Lepsius, *Das Tottenbuch der Ägypter*).
- 40 Mikola Tarasenko, "The BD 42 Vignettes during the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period," in *Ausgestattet mit den Schriften des Thot: Festschrift für Irmtraut Munro zu ihrem 65. Geburtstag*, edited by Burkhard Backes et al. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009), 248 and 260, note 80.
- 41 For parallels, see pIuefankh, pl. XIX (Lepsius, *Das Tottenbuch der Ägypter*).
- 42 For parallels, see pIuefankh, pl. XIX (Lepsius, *Das Tottenbuch der Ägypter*).
- 43 Tarasenko, "The BD 42 Vignettes," 253–58.
- 44 pPaennestitauy of the Third Intermediate Period, see Irmtraut Munro, *Das Tottenbuch des Pa-en-nesti-tauy aus der Regierungszeit des Amenemope (London BM 10064)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2001), pls. 31–32.
- 45 For parallels, see pIuefankh col. 43.1 (Lepsius, *Das Tottenbuch der Ägypter*). For *pn* at the end of the first column, compare *wsjr pn* in col. 43.3 of pIuefankh (Lepsius, *Das Tottenbuch der Ägypter*).
- 46 For *nn nhm[tw]* and *[rnp]w jnk*, see pIuefankh cols. 43.2 and 43.3 (Lepsius, *Das Tottenbuch der Ägypter*).
- 47 For parallels, see Graefe, *Das Grab des Padihorresnet*, vol. 2, 109, cols. 3–5.
- 48 For parallels, see Graefe, *Das Grab des Padihorresnet*, vol. 2, 111, cols. 1 and 3.
- 49 For parallels, see Erhart Graefe, "Stundenritual," 2009, <http://www.uni-muenster.de/IAEK/org/WMA/graefer/stunden/index.html>. 6. Stunde, pages h1–h2.
- 50 For parallels, see Graefe, "Stundenritual," 7. Stunde, pages h2–h4. Hymnus 1 Bl.2–Bl.4.
- 51 Words in column 3, "[...] = *k hwn*," can be found in Graefe, *Das Grab des Padihorresnet*, vol. 2, 114, col. 4; and the words in column 6, "*sh̄t 3h̄* [...]," appear also in col. 5 of Padihorresnet. The word in column 4, "*w^cb*," has no parallel in this tomb, but it can be found in Edfu, where the sixth hour is also found in the place of the eighth, see Graefe, "Stundenritual," 6. Stunde, page 7. Parallels for Karakhamun's columns 6 (*m-hnw jrt=f wd3.tj*) and 8 (*[?]w-jb*) in the tomb of Pabasa can also be seen on page 8 of this edition, but not for its words in column 7.

- 52 Graefe, “Stundenritual,” 11. Stunde, page 5.
- 53 *m3*^c should have been in the middle of Pabasa’s column 3 (but the text is erased in this part of the pillar) and  as determinative of *jmnt* is on column 4.
- 54 For parallels for the preserved parts of the side, see Graefe, “Stundenritual,” 12. Stunde, pages 7, 8, 9, 11, 14, 16, and 18.
- 55 For parallels, see pIuefankh cols. 79.1 to 79.5 (Lepsius, *Das Tottenbuch der Ägypter*).
- 56 For parallels, see pIuefankh cols. 89.3 to 89.7 (Lepsius, *Das Tottenbuch der Ägypter*).
- 57 For parallels, see pIuefankh cols. 85.8 to 89.10 (Lepsius, *Das Tottenbuch der Ägypter*).
- 58 For parallels, see pIuefankh col. 119.1 (Lepsius, *Das Tottenbuch der Ägypter*).
- 59 As the text is retrograde, they correspond to the beginning of the spell; for parallels, see pIuefankh cols. 44.1 and 44.2 (Lepsius, *Das Tottenbuch der Ägypter*).
- 60 Graefe, “Stundenritual,” Einleitung, page 6.
- 61 See note 14.
- 62 Graefe, “Stundenritual,” Einleitung, page 6.
- 63 For parallels, signs of cols. 4 and 5 of the illustration—under the vignette—and of the joined blocks can be compared to BD 56.
- 64 For parallels, compare the first column of both Karakhamun and Padihorresnet (Graefe, *Das Grab des Padihorresnet*, vol. 2, 124) to pIuefankh col. 71.1.
- 65 For parallels, see Pabasa and Padihorresnet (Graefe, *Das Grab des Padihorresnet*, vol. 2, 125) and the repetition of *shy* in BD 68.
- 66 For parallels, see Padihorresnet cols. 1 and 4 (Graefe, *Das Grab des Padihorresnet*, vol., 126) and pIuefankh col. 68.1 (Lepsius, *Das Tottenbuch der Ägypter*).
- 67 For parallels, see pIuefankh cols. 74.1 and 74.2 (Lepsius, *Das Tottenbuch der Ägypter*).
- 68 Cols. 4 and 6 of Karakhamun have parallels in cols. 5 and 7 of Pabasa.
- 69 Col. 7 has parallels in col. 8 of Pabasa.
- 70 For parallels, see pIuefankh col. 25.1 (Lepsius, *Das Tottenbuch der Ägypter*), Padihorresnet col. 2 (Graefe, *Das Grab des Padihorresnet*, vol. 2, 130), and compare cols. 3 and 6 of Karakhamun with cols. 4 and 6 of Pabasa.
- 71 For parallels, see Padihorresnet col. 1 (Graefe, *Das Grab des Padihorresnet*, vol. 2, 132) and pIuefankh col. 67.1 (Lepsius, *Das Tottenbuch der Ägypter*).
- 72 For *r*^c, see pIuefankh col. 93.1 (Lepsius, *Das Tottenbuch der Ägypter*); for *wsr*, see pIuefankh col. 93.2 (Lepsius, *Das Tottenbuch der Ägypter*); and for *š*^c*d*, see pIuefankh col. 93.8 (Lepsius, *Das Tottenbuch der Ägypter*).
- 73 For parallels, see pIuefankh cols. 82.1 to 82.4 (Lepsius, *Das Tottenbuch der Ägypter*).
- 74 Milde, “The Vignettes in the Book of the Dead,” 183–84. The author attributes the presence of Ptah in the New Kingdom Theban papyri and tombs to an iconographical tradition of Deir al-Medina, since the god is protector of the artisans.
- 75 For New Kingdom parallels, see Édouard Naville, *Das ägyptische Tottenbuch der XVIII. bis XX Dynastie* (Berlin: A. Asher & Co., 1886), vol. 2, pl. CXVIII; for Late Period documents, see Padihorresnet (Graefe, *Das Grab des Padihorresnet*, vol. 2, 72–73) and Pabasa (courtyard).
- 76 On the reuse of Hatshepsut’s Mansion of Millions of Years as a burial site, for an example of this situation, see Zbigniew E. Szafranski, “A New Third Intermediate Period Necropolis at Deir el Bahari,” in *Proceedings of the Colloquium on Theban Archaeology at the*

- Supreme Council of Antiquities. November 5, 2009*, edited by Zahi Hawass, Tamas Bács, and Gabor Schreiber (Cairo: Supreme Council of Antiquities, 2011), 141–48.
- 77 For examples of this kind of transference, see Ogden Goelet Jr., “Ancient Egyptian Scripts—Literary, Sacred, and Profane,” in *Semitic Papyrology in Context: A Climate of Creativity: Papers from a New York University Conference Marking the Retirement of Baruch A. Levine*, edited by Lawrence H. Schiffman (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2003), 18–38.
- 78 In Padihorresnet's tomb it was not inside the Pillared Hall, as in Karakhamun, Harwa, and Pabasa, but outside, in the entrance niche; see Graefe, *Das Grab des Padiborresnet*, vol. 2, 58–59. In Basa's tomb, the spatial organization is different from other contemporary monuments, but the decoration distribution is similar: offering scenes appear in ante-chamber II (on several walls) and in the entrance niche; see Jan Assmann, *Das Grab des Basa (Nr. 389) in der thebanischen Nekropole*, Grabung im Asasif 1963–1970, 2, AVDAIK 6 (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1973), pls. VIII–XI, XV–XVI, XX–XXIII.
- 79 In Harwa and Pabasa (for other coincidences, see notes 348 and 350), the hours occupy the same place (in the latter the actual direction is north–south); in Padihorresnet, they have been adapted to the four sides of the three pillars in the courtyard, breaking the symbolism of this placement; see Graefe, *Das Grab des Padiborresnet*, vol. 2, 45–49.
- 80 Milde, *The Vignettes in the Book of the Dead*, 42.
- 81 Lucía Elena Díaz-Iglesias Llanos, “La proyección mitológica de Heracleópolis Magna. Contextualización, continuidad y transformaciones de los mitemas heracleopolitanos en fuentes funerarias y culturales” (PhD diss., Universidad de La Laguna, 2012), vol. 1, 312.
- 82 Milde, *The Vignettes of the Book of the Dead*, 47.
- 83 III 53–30–44–89–33–36–47–61–45–56 + R 72–2–23 III. Munro, *Der Totenbuch-Papyrus*, 11.
- 84 Taylor, “Schrift-Charakter,” in *Der Totenbuch-Papyrus der Ta-schep-en-Chonsu aus der späten 25. Dynastie* (pMoskau Puschkin-Museum I, 1b, 121), Irmtraut Munro, with contributions from John H. Taylor (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009), 10.
- 85 End of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, after Anthony Leahy, “More Fragments of the *Book of the Dead* of Padinemty,” *JEA* 85 (1999): 230–32.
- 86 18–19–20–21–22 V–23 V–24 III 142 III 147 V III 145 III. Objektbeschreibung als Totenbuch Bonn, “TM 112523,” 2013, <http://www.totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm112523>.
- 87 On the imitation of BD spells placement in Harwa's courtyard on Pabasa's temple tomb and of this one on later tombs, see Silvia Einaudi, “Le Livre des Morts dans la Cour de la Tombe de Haroua (TT 37): Nouvelles découvertes,” in *Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Egyptologists, University of the Aegean, Rhodes 22–29 May 2008*, edited by Panagiotis Kousoulis and Nikolaos Lazaridis, 35: 19–24 (Leuven: Peeters, in press), first table.
- 88 Gloria Rosati, “Glimpses of the Book of the Dead in the Second Court of the Tomb of Montuemhat (TT 34),” in *Totenbuch Forschungen: Gesammelte Beiträge des 2. Internationalen Totenbuch-Symposiums, Bonn 25.–29. September 2005*, edited by Burkhard Backes, Irmtraut Munro, and Simone Stöhr (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006), 303, plate 3.
- 89 7–39–42–41–41B–31–32–40–36–33–37–38B (pPaennesettauy, pGatshesen; other documents show a briefer list of spells). Sequence H, following the terminology of Rita Lucarelli, *The Book of the Dead of Gatschesen: Ancient Egyptian Funerary Religion in the 10th Century BC* (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2006), 106–14.

- 90 Miguel Á. Molinero Polo, "L'identification des Textes des Pyramides des tombes de Haroua (TT 37) et de Pabasa (TT 279)," in *Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Egyptologists, University of the Aegean, Rhodes 22–29 May 2008*, edited by Panagiotis Kousoulis and Nikolaos Lazaridis (Leuven: Peeters, in press).
- 91 Rosati, "Glimpses of the Book of the Dead," pl. 3
- 92 On the appearance and meaning of most of these objects in Late Period tombs, see Pischikova, "Representations of Ritual and Symbolic Objects," passim.
- 93 For another example in the tomb of Padiimenipet, but in the entrance niche, see Johannes Dümichen, *Der Grabpalast des Patuamenap in der thebanischen Nekropolis*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1884), 7 and Tafel IV.
- 94 Einaudi, "Le Livre des Morts dans la cour de la Tombe de Haroua."
- 95 Graefe, *Das Grab des Padihorresnet*, vol. 2, 88–89.
- 96 Manfred Bietak and Elfriede Reiser-Haslauer, *Das Grab des 'Anch-Hor. Obersthofmeister der Gottesgemablin Nitokris*, Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österreichischen archäologischen Institutes 4, 5, vol. 1 (Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1978), 108.
- 97 Miguel Á. Molinero Polo et al., "Textos de las Pirámides de la Dinastía XXV: estudio textual e histórico preliminar." in *Novos trabalhos de Egiptologia Ibérica. IV Congresso Ibérico de Egiptologia*, edited by Luis de Araujo and José das Candeias Sales (Lisboa: Instituto Oriental e Centro de História da Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa, 2012), 747.
- 98 For an interpretation in that sense of the complete space of a Memphite Late Period tomb, see Roberto Buongarzone, "La funzionalità dei testi nel contesto architettonico della tomba di Bakenrenef," *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 13 (1990): 81–101.
- 99 Molinero Polo, "L'identification des Textes des Pyramides."
- 100 This name is not documented in the tomb for the moment since the part of the column where it should be is lost in a lacuna and the block has not yet been found.

***The Book of the Dead* from the Second Pillared Hall of the Tomb of Karakhamun: A Preliminary Survey**

Kenneth Griffin

Introduction

Since 2009, excavations have been carried out in the area of the tomb of Karakhamun now designated as the Second Pillared Hall. These excavations were completed during the 2011 season, revealing a hall consisting of four pillars and four pilasters. This hall has suffered greatly due to the collapse of the ceiling, with the pillars and walls largely destroyed. Despite this, it has already been possible to identify over 90 percent of the texts through the recovery of approximately 5,000 fragments from the floor of the hall. This chapter will examine the texts of the *Book of the Dead* (BD) that appear on the pillars and pilasters, as well as a number of the walls within the hall. The aim is not to present a detailed analysis of the individual chapters, but rather to offer a preliminary survey of the chapters, their vignettes, and their layout in order to better understand the choice of inclusion.

The tomb of Karakhamun is the earliest of the large Late Period monumental Theban tombs to have been extensively decorated with the *Book of the Dead*. Thus, the tomb can perhaps be seen as both a landmark and model to which the latter officials of the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-six Dynasties aspired.

The faces of the pillars and pilasters within the Second Pillared Hall are all inscribed with vertical columns of hieroglyphs; seven columns on the long sides and four on the short sides.¹ The roof of the hall, when originally intact, would have been notably lower than that of the First Pillared Hall, measuring approximately 2.7 meters in height compared to 3.3 meters. Additionally, the horizontal inscriptions of the central architraves leading to the false door of the tomb are of larger proportions than their counterparts of the First Pillared Hall. The pillars and pilasters sit atop short plinths while the base of each contains a decorative border of three red horizontal bands. The inscribed faces occupy a space of approximately 2 meters,

0.45 of which can be taken up by any accompanying vignette. As a rule, the *Book of the Dead* chapters are written retrograde, so that the signs are orientated toward the rear of the tomb while equally having the appearance of beginning from there.² The titles of the spells are not included and instead, each text is introduced by the phrase *dd mdw in Wsir*, followed by a series of titles preceding the name of Karakhamun, who is proclaimed *m3^c-hrw*, “true of voice.”³

Northeast Pilaster (NP1)

Upon entering the Second Pillared Hall, the first text encountered, on the southern face of the northeastern pilaster, is BD 63A, “Spell for drinking water and not being dehydrated by fire.”⁴ The inscription is written on four vertical columns of hieroglyphs, with the direction of the text orientated so that it reads from east to west as one progresses into the tomb. In fact, all three texts from this pilaster are orientated so that they can be read continuously. The preservation of the pilaster has suffered greatly due to the poor quality of the limestone in this area of the tomb. As a result, the craftsmen found it necessary to utilize a large quantity of patch stones on all three faces that, over the years, have become dislodged and many subsequently lost. Although the upper part of the pilaster face is currently missing, it is clear that there would have been no room for an accompanying vignette. The deceased is referred to in the first person throughout the text. The carving of the entire inscription is of a relatively poor quality with the proportions of the individual signs, particularly with the birds, inconsistent. The sculptor of the text also seems to have experienced difficulties in the carving of a number of signs, most notably with a horned viper in the last line that underwent several modifications. Additionally, on the second line, the sculptor misinterpreted the determinative in the word *ʿwg3*, “to parch,” as a cattle hobble (𓂏) as opposed to the flame (𓂏) hieroglyph.

The western face of the pilaster is inscribed with BD 27, “Spell for not letting N’s breast be taken away from him in the god’s domain (fig. 10.1).”⁵ This spell is one of three (along with BD 26 and 28) located within the Second Pillared Hall dealing with the heart of the deceased. The text is written over seven columns of hieroglyphs, with no vignette included. The preserved text is currently comprised of the second and fourth quarters, with the first quarter destroyed and the third, which was originally capped with patch stones, missing. The hieroglyphs are moderately well-executed, with the deceased referred to in the first person throughout the chapter. There are a number of paleographical peculiarities within the text, including the writing of the word *npwt*, “years,” which is written with three throw sticks (𓂏) in place of the more accurate palm branches (𓂏). It is also worth noting that in the upper section of the preserved text, a number of the birds and human figures have been colored with either a black or dark-blue ink. The only other text from the tomb that is rendered in this way is the northern adjacent *Pyramid Text* wall. It seems clear that these additions were not contemporary to the original tomb decoration, but instead were ‘modern’ alterations.

The northern face of the pilaster is inscribed with a text that is yet to be identified. The text is written over four columns and reads from right to left. The hieroglyphs appear to be crudely carved in places while the pillar face has suffered greatly from the loss of numerous patch stones. It is unknown at this stage if the text was accompanied by a vignette.

North Pillar One (NP2)

The first pillar from the northern side of the Second Pillared Hall is inscribed with at least three chapters of the *Book of the Dead* (26, 52, and 77), one on each pillar face. The pillar itself was discovered largely destroyed, yet enough of the inscriptions were preserved on the northern and western sides to identify the chapters as 26 (west) and 52 (north) respectively. The inscriptions on the eastern and southern faces were completely destroyed, with the exception of a few trace hieroglyphs providing an orientation of the signs. The text from the eastern face of the pillar remains unknown with no fragments currently identified. The pillar face would have contained seven columns of text, reading from left to right as confirmed by some trace hieroglyphs at the base.





BD 77, “Spell for assuming the form of a falcon of gold,” is located on the southern face of the pillar, with the hieroglyphs reading from right to left.⁶ Very few fragments belonging to this chapter have been identified thus far, with the most significant, a corner block, containing the concluding phrase *sh̄m.i m iry [tp.i]*, “that I gain control of him who is at [my head],” one that occurs only in this chapter. Confirmation that BD 77 is located on this pillar face is provided by the accompanying vignette that depicts the deceased in the form of a golden falcon, as described in the title of the spell. Only the lower rear quarter of the bird has survived, but it is clear that it was perched on a plinth while facing toward the rear of the tomb. No traces of a *menat*-collar or flail are visible, suggesting that this vignette falls into Mosher’s version three.⁷ Mosher notes that, in the vignettes of the Late Period papyri, the falcons of this spell were executed with detailed attention to actual physical features that characterize the Egyptian falcon, perhaps indicating the importance of the vignette.⁸ This is certainly the case with the vignette from the tomb of Karakhamun, with the long pointed tail, wings, and feet eloquently carved. Both the plinth and the body of the falcon are painted red with the wings a shade of blue. It is also worth noting that the



Fig. 10.1. NP1 (west face), Second Pillared Hall. Tomb of Karakhamun. Photo Katherine Blakeney, SACP

vertical border on the eastern side has been carved as opposed to simply painted, as seems to be the case with the other borders from the pillar. Perhaps this reflects the positioning of the scene along the prominent central axis.

BD 26, “Spell for giving N’s heart to him in the god’s domain,” is inscribed on the western face of the pillar and reads from right to left with the text spanning seven columns.⁹ Only the lower parts of lines three to five are preserved in situ. The text is further supplemented by a number of blocks that have been recovered, including corner stones from both sides. The deceased is referred to throughout in the first person, with the execution of the hieroglyphs varying in quality. At present, no traces of a vignette have been identified.

BD 52, “Spell for not eating dung in the god’s domain,” which is inscribed on the northern face of the pillar, reads from left to right and is written over seven columns of text.¹⁰ The hieroglyphs and dividing lines were originally painted blue, but a chemical reaction has resulted in sections of the pillar face displaying a pink tone. Only the lower parts of columns four to six are preserved in situ, although a considerable number of fragments have been identified as belonging to this text, including a large block that spans columns two to six. The hieroglyphs are often poorly executed, with little attention given to the accuracy of the carving of the signs. For example, in the sixth line of the text, the word *t3*, “land,” is mistakenly written with the hieroglyph for door () in place of the more accurate land hieroglyph ().¹¹ The deceased is referred to throughout in the first person, which is almost always written with the single stroke () in place of the more common determinative (). No traces of a vignette have been identified yet, although it is likely that one was present, based on the measurements of the text.

North Pillar Two (NP3)

The second pillar from the northern end of the Second Pillared Hall has been completely destroyed, with trace hieroglyphs present on the base of the southern face only. Despite this, it has still been possible to identify all of the chapters from the *Book of the Dead* that originally occupied this pillar. Karl Richard Lepsius, who visited the tomb in the 1840s, recorded a small number of inscriptions that recent excavations have confirmed were located within the Second Pillared Hall. Although Lepsius was primarily concerned with the names and titles of Karakhamun, he also included short extracts from BD 80 and 104, both of which are inscribed on this pillar.¹² Additionally, the entirety of BD 104 was copied by Vladimir Golenishchev, who visited Thebes at the end of the nineteenth century. This would certainly indicate that the second northern pillar was still intact at the time of Golenishchev’s visit.

The eastern face of the pillar is inscribed with BD 57, “Spell for breathing air and having water available in the god’s domain”.¹³ The hieroglyphs read from right to left and would have occupied seven columns of text. Apart from two large corner fragments, all the other pieces identified as belonging to this chapter contain only



Fig. 10.2. Vignette from BD 57 (NP3, east face), Second Pillared Hall. Tomb of Karakhamun.
Photo Katherine Blakeney, SACP

a few words apiece. The hieroglyphs are well executed, with the deceased referred to through the third person suffix-*f*, as opposed to the first person suffix-*i*, which is used in the New Kingdom versions of the spell.¹⁴ A second, incomplete, version of BD 57 is inscribed on the southern face of the south-eastern pilaster (SP4) and this text also uses the third person suffix-*f*. Additionally, the suffix-*f* is preferred in the versions of BD 57 located within the tombs of Ankh-Hor, Mentuemhat, Pabasa, and Sheshonq, perhaps suggesting that this is a Late Period grammatical feature.¹⁵ The chapter is accompanied by a vignette, which, although largely destroyed, must have been one of the finest scenes from the tomb. It depicts a sycamore tree goddess, most likely representing the goddess Nut, facing left in the direction of the image of the tomb owner (fig. 10.2).¹⁶ The tree is positioned on a raised platform with the goddess standing within the foliage. She is depicted as a tall and slender woman, wearing a long scarlet dress that terminates just above the ankles. Her skin is of a yellow tone, one that is more commonly used on non-divine women. In her hands she presents two vases containing water to the deceased and while these vessels have not survived, the double strands of water allow for a reconstruction of the scene. The tree is oblong in shape with its branches projecting upwards from behind the figure of the goddess. The foliage is painted red with the branches the same scarlet color of the goddess' dress, giving the illusion of being merged. The tomb owner is depicted on a lion-legged chair with his left arm raised to accept the water while his right arm clasps a, now missing, sail representing wind and air as mentioned in the title of the spell.¹⁷ He is depicted with a clean shaven head while wearing a long dress that terminates just above the ankles, along with a pelt vest across his chest. (fig. 10.2).

The southern face of the second northern pillar has been completely destroyed, yet it is now clear that it was originally inscribed with BD 24, “Spell for bringing N’s magic to him in the god’s domain.”¹⁸ The text reads from right to left and would have occupied seven columns of hieroglyphs. Three fragments, two of them large, have been identified as belonging to this chapter although it is not possible to reconstruct them at present. The hieroglyphs appear to be moderately carved, with heavy guidelines still present on one fragment. No fragments relating to the vignette of this chapter have yet been identified, although with the text being prominently situated along the central axis of the tomb, it is likely that one was present.

BD 80, “Assuming the form of a god and turning darkness into light,” was located on the western face of the pillar.¹⁹ Written over seven columns of text, the spell reads from right to left with the hieroglyphs generally well carved. A small number of fragments, including a large section of the northwestern corner and the top edge of the pillar, make clear that the text was not accompanied by a vignette. It is unknown at this stage if the spell was complete, although it would seem that there would not have been enough room for the concluding phrases.

The northern face of the second pillar is largely destroyed, and only a small number of fragments from the upper western corner have been recovered. These fragments have allowed for an identification of BD 104, “Spell for sitting amid the great gods.”²⁰ As noted above, portions of BD 104 were published by Lepsius, and it is clear that, even though there are two copies of the chapter within the tomb, the text relates to this particular pillar.²¹ Furthermore, the unpublished manuscript of Golenishchev indicates that this chapter occupied columns four to seven of the pillar



Fig. 10.3. NP4 (east face), Second Pillared Hall. Tomb of Karakhamun. Photo Katherine Blakeney, SACP



Fig. 10. 4. NP4 (north face), Second Pillared Hall. Tomb of Karakhamun. *Photo Katherine Blakeney, SACP*

face, with the text reading from left to right. It is now known that the first three columns of text were inscribed with BD 51, “Spell for not walking upside down in the god’s domain,” meaning that the tomb actually contained three copies of this chapter.²² The hieroglyphs appear to be moderately carved, with heavy drafting still present on a number of the fragments. Two fragments relating to the vignette of BD 104 have also been identified. This depicts the deceased kneeling on a plinth, perhaps in the company of a group of seated gods whose plinth is also present.²³ The scene is unfinished, with the upper body of Karakhamun left uncarved. Additionally, the title and name of Karakhamun, in draft form only, are located above his image, further emphasizing the incomplete nature of the vignette.

Northwestern Pilaster (NP4)

The northwestern pilaster has been completely destroyed with only traces of the plinth visible. Fortunately, a large section of the northeastern corner, measuring slightly less than a meter in height, was excavated from the steps leading to the burial compartments. This suggests that the pilaster had simply collapsed from its original “position”, less than a meter away. A further four fragments have since been identified as belonging to this northeastern corner, with the pilaster having been reconstructed to a height of 1.4 meters during the 2011 excavation season.

The southern face of the northwestern pilaster is inscribed with a second copy of BD 44, “Spell for not dying again.”²⁴ This identification is based on a large block, which was found in the burial chamber, containing parts of the final two lines of the texts. The spell occupied four columns of text, with the hieroglyphs reading



Fig. 10.5. SP1
(north face),
Second Pillared
Hall. Tomb of
Karakhamun.
Photo Katherine
Blakeney, SACP

Southeast Pilaster (SP1)

The texts on the three faces of the southeastern pilaster remain unknown, despite the fact that both the northern and southern faces survive in situ to a maximum height of 0.65 meters. The short sides (north and south) occupy four columns of text, with the western side taking up seven columns, all of which can be read continuously from left to right (fig. 10.5). The text on the northern side has been supplemented by two

from right to left. The signs are crudely carved, as can be clearly seen in the writing of the phrase *wr-phty*, “Great of Strength,” in which the double lion heads (𐀀𐀀) are written asymmetrically. No trace of a vignette has yet been identified.

A second copy of BD 104 is inscribed on the eastern face of the pilaster (fig. 10.3).²⁵ The spell occupies columns five to seven and reads from left to right while the text inscribed on the first four columns has yet to be identified. The hieroglyphs are crudely carved with the paleography similar to BD 28 (SP3), 86 (SP2), and 100 (SP3) within the Second Pillared Hall. This includes the consistent use of the long dash (—) as a shorthand version of the more common water-sign (𐀀𐀀𐀀). No vignette belonging to this chapter has yet been identified, and it is likely, based on the measurements of the text, that one was never present.

The northern face of the pilaster is not inscribed with a chapter from the *Book of the Dead*, as might be expected, but instead a glorification spell is present (fig. 10.4). The inscription occupies four columns of text and reads from right to left. The first column of text is missing, although this is likely to have consisted mainly of the titles and name of Karakhamun. The second line of the text contains an extract from *Coffin Text* 204 in which the god Apis is described as “he who is in the sky, long of horns, fair of names, far-sighted.”²⁶ Yet, lines three and four are concerned with the deceased having access without limit, free movement, and being confirmed by the gods as an equipped *3h*, which are not part of this *Coffin Text* spell. Further research is necessary in order to identify the precise source of this inscription. The hieroglyphs are moderately well carved, with traces of blue paint still present within the carving of the signs.



Fig. 10. 6. SP2 (west face),
Second Pillared Hall. Tomb
of Karakhamun. Photo
Katherine Blakeney, SACP

fairly large blocks that contain parts of the first two lines, bringing the height of the first line to over a meter. The hieroglyphs are crudely carved, with the hieroglyph of the seated man with his hand to his mouth (𓅓) having almost cartoonish features not attested elsewhere within the tomb. The western side is less well preserved, with the text reaching a maximum height of 0.25 meters. The hieroglyphs are crudely carved in places while the name of Karakhamun is present at the base of columns five and seven, perhaps suggesting that more than one spell is included here. In contrast, the hieroglyphs on the southern face are generally well carved. Understandably, none of the vignettes for this pilaster have been identified. Further discussion of this pilaster must wait until these texts have been identified.

South Pillar One (SP2)

The first pillar on the southern side of the Second Pillared Hall is inscribed with five chapters of the *Book of the Dead* (45, 51, 80, 84, and 86). BD 45 and 51 occur together on the southern face, while BD 80 is on the northern, BD 84 on the eastern, and BD 86 on the western face. The pillar has suffered greatly, mainly due to the loss of patch stones, with the northern face void of any in situ inscription while the eastern face contains only a small section of line six. The southern and western faces are better preserved, although the inscriptions only reach a maximum height of 0.70 meters.

BD 84, “Assuming the form of a heron,” is inscribed on the eastern face the pillar.²⁷ The text reads from right to left and occupies seven columns of hieroglyphs. The pillar face is largely destroyed, with only a small section of line six preserved in situ. Despite this, a number of fragments from the southeastern corner have been recovered, allowing for an identification of the chapter. To date, more than ten fragments belonging to this chapter have been identified. This includes two large fragments with the rest relatively small, although some have subsequently been joined together. The hieroglyphs are often crudely carved, particularly toward the top of the inscription. Heavy drafting is still present throughout the text, which often allows for an identification of the fragments. While no fragments of the vignette have yet been identified, it seems certain that one was originally present.²⁸ This image is always derived from the title of the spell, with a heron (*šnty*) depicted.²⁹

The southern face of the pillar is inscribed with two chapters: BD 45, “Spell for not rotting in the god’s domain,” and a third copy of BD 51, “Spell for not walking upside down in the god’s domain.”³⁰ The inscriptions are preserved in situ to a maximum height of 0.70 meters, with the pillar face having required significant patching. The texts read from right to left and are written over seven columns, with BD 45 inscribed on the first three and a half columns and BD 51 on the remainder. The hieroglyphs are crudely carved, although they are distinctively large, with the craftsman often switching between thick and thinly carved signs. A fragment of an accompanying vignette has been identified that would seem to depict the back foot of a figure, presumably Karakhamun, facing in the direction of the rear of the tomb. This would suggest that the vignette that accompanies BD 45—Anubis attending the upright mummy of the deceased—has not been included on this pillar.³¹ Instead, it is possible that both chapters were accompanied by the vignette associated with BD 51, in which the deceased stands before the god Osiris.³² While BD 45 and BD 51 do not traditionally appear together, it is perhaps not too surprising to find them in association since the content of both relates to the deceased not dying a second death.

BD 86, “Assuming the form of a swallow,” is inscribed on the western face of the first southern pillar (fig. 10.6).³³ The text reads from left to right and is written over seven columns. Only the lower parts of columns three to six are preserved in situ, reaching a maximum height of 0.55m. Additionally, more than fifteen fragments belonging to the pillar face have been identified so far, including almost the entire sixth column. The hieroglyphs are poorly executed with the signs noticeably small, no doubt as a result of this text being the longest of all those spells carved on the pillars within this hall. This may also be the reason for the omission of a vignette, as well as the concluding phrase *h3t.i krs.tw.s*, “my corpse, it is buried,” from the text. There are a number of hieratic inclusions, suggesting that the text was copied from a papyrus dating to the Third Intermediate Period. For example, the long dash (—) is used as a shorthand version of the more common water-sign (~~~~~).

This paleographic feature is present in BD 28, BD 100 (SP3), and BD 104 (NP4) from the Second Pillared Hall, which perhaps points to the texts being carved by the same hand. It is also worth noting the paleographic writing of the verb *pr*, ‘to go forth,’ which is written with the viper, minus the horns, going forth from its dwelling (𐍑), a form which appears to have been introduced in the early Third Intermediate Period.

The northern face of the pillar is void of any in situ inscription, largely due to the loss of ancient patch stones that have since become detached. However, a small number of these patch stones have been recovered, including a fragment from the northwestern corner, indicating the presence of a second copy of BD 80.³⁴ The hieroglyphs appear to be crudely carved, while one fragment contains traces of an accompanying vignette with only the feet of an unidentified individual present. Based on the orientation of the scene, these feet are likely to be those of the god Ra, who is commonly depicted before the adoring deceased in the vignettes accompanying this spell.³⁵ Additionally, there are also traces of the lower part of a *was*-scepter, traditionally held by Ra, further supporting this identification.

South Pillar Two (SP3)

The second pillar from the southern side of the Second Pillared Hall is inscribed with five chapters of the *Book of the Dead* (28, 74, 75, 100, 105). BD 74 and BD 75 appear together on the southern face, while BD 28 is on the north, BD 100 on the west, and BD 105 on the east. Only the lower portions of the texts are preserved in situ, with the southern extending to a height of 0.50 meters, while the text on the western face is particularly poorly preserved, with only the base of a few columns present.

The eastern face of SP3 is inscribed with a second version of BD 105, “Spell for gratifying N’s spirit for him in the god’s domain.”³⁶ The text is written over seven columns and reads from right to left. Only the lower portion of the first six lines are preserved in situ, although this has been further supplemented by the identification of a corner stone containing the base of the concluding line. The hieroglyphs are well executed and are evenly spaced throughout. It is possible that a single source was used for both copies of the chapter, as the sections that can be compared are virtually identical. The spell finishes with the statement [*nn*] *ink is k3 n h[ryt]*, “I am not a sacrificial bull,” with the traditional concluding phrase omitted.³⁷ While this omission would seem to have been the result of a lack of space, it is evident that the hieroglyphs have been widely spaced, with no suggestion that the draftsman was concerned about not being able to complete the text. This might then imply that the concluding phrase had been deliberately omitted and that the text as it appears on the pillar face is ‘complete.’³⁸ No traces of any accompanying vignette have been identified yet, although it can be assumed, based on the proportions of the text, that one was originally present. The traditional vignette depicts the deceased standing in adoration before either a *k3*-table or *k3*-standard, both of which are laden with offerings.³⁹



Fig. 10.7. SP3 (south face), Second Pillared Hall. Tomb of Karakhamun. Photo Katherine Blakeney, SACP

BD 74, “Spell for hastening the feet and ascending from the earth,” and BD 75, “Spell for going to Heliopolis and taking a seat there,” occur together on the southern face of SP3 (fig. 10.7).⁴⁰ BD 74 occupies the first four columns of the pillar, with BD 75 inscribed on the final three columns. The spells read from right to left, with the first six lines of the lower quarter of the pillar face preserved in situ. The carving of the hieroglyphs is of a good standard, with all the signs painted in blue ink. While the complete version of BD 74 is inscribed, the text of BD 75 represents a shortened version that is most common from the Late Period onward.⁴¹ This version is also attested in the tombs of Mentuemhat, Padihorresnet, and Sheshonq, as well as in the second version from the tomb of Karakhamun. As yet, no vignette belonging to either chapter has been identified, although it is likely, based on the proportions of the missing text, that one was included. This perhaps consisted of a double scene of both vignettes, as in the tomb of Padihorresnet: the deceased standing before the image of a serpent walking on human legs, associated with BD 74, and the deceased standing before the *ʿwn*-pillar of Heliopolis, associated with BD 75.

BD 100, “Roll for initiating a blessed one and causing that he embark in the bark of Ra and his train,” is inscribed on the western face of SP3.⁴² The spell, which is commonly found in amuletic form, reads from left to right and spans seven columns of hieroglyphs.⁴³ The pillar face is very badly destroyed with only the final word of columns two and three preserved in situ. Despite this, a number of fragments have been identified as belonging to this text, including a large fragment covering the middle section of lines two to five. Additionally, a corner piece containing the final phrase, *swḥt 3bdw*, “the egg and the *3bdw*-fish,” has also

been identified. Interestingly, the word for *3bdw*-fish is written with the symbol for the 'East' (𓆎𓅓𓏏) in place of the more accurate symbol of an *3b*-scepter (𓆎𓅓𓏏). While this could easily be explained as a scribal error, particularly as the east emblem and that of *3b*-scepter are almost identical in hieratic, it is perhaps more likely that this writing represents a play on the word 'East,' the place where the deceased is ferried to.⁴⁴ In the accompanying vignette, the deceased is traditionally depicted in the sun-boat ferrying the phoenix toward the emblem of the East. However, Mosher notes that in a number of cases, the emblem for the East is also replaced with that of Abydos, suggesting that the two signs could be used interchangeably.⁴⁵ There are also a number of hieratic inclusions that appear in the writing of this spell. This includes the craftsman using both the traditional *n*-sign (𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏) as well as the common hieratic *n*-sign (—). While no vignette has yet been identified accompanying BD 100, it is likely, based on the measurements of the text, that one was included.

BD 28, "Spell for not letting N's breast be taken away from him in the god's domain," is the third and final chapter relating to the heart of the deceased to be found within the Second Pillared Hall.⁴⁶ The inscription reads from left to right and occupies seven columns of text. The pillar face is heavily damaged, with only the lower portion of hieroglyphs preserved on the first five columns. Very few fragments belonging to this text have been identified, and it is unknown if it was accompanied by a vignette. The hieroglyphs are often crudely carved, with the sculptor paying little attention to the execution of the signs. For example, in the writing of the word *Iwnw*, "Heliopolis," from the first column, the pillar hieroglyph (𓆎) has the appearance of a simple stroke, with the clear omission of the tenon at the top. Additionally, in line four, the sculptor has neglected to carve the front walls in the writing of the house (𓏏𓏏) hieroglyph. The style of the carving and the paleography of the signs are very similar to those encountered in BD 86 (SP2 West) and BD 104 (NP4 East), suggesting that these inscriptions may have been carved by the same artist.

Southwest Pilaster (SP4)

The southwestern pilaster is inscribed with BD 50, BD 57, and BD 91, with the pilaster preserved in situ to a maximum height of 0.65 meters. BD 91, "Spell for not confining a man's soul in the god's domain," is located on the northern face of the pilaster (fig. 10.8).⁴⁷ This short chapter, which is inscribed on only four columns of text, reads from left to right, with the titles of Karakhamun occupying almost the entire first two lines. The hieroglyphs are generally well executed, although in the writing of the word Hathor, the bird within the *hwt*-enclosure resembles an owl (𓂏) rather than the falcon (𓂏). The accompanying vignette depicts Karakhamun facing the rear of the tomb, toward the now-missing representation of a *b3*-bird. In his left hand, he holds a lotus blossom behind him, and perhaps a staff in his right hand. He wears a long dress that terminates just above the ankles and is also likely to have been cleanly shaven, while wearing a pelt vest

across his chest.⁴⁸ Mosher notes that earlier versions of this vignette are unknown and that it would appear to have originated in the Late Period.⁴⁹

BD 50, “Spell for not entering the god’s place of execution,” is inscribed on the eastern face of the pilaster (fig. 10.10).⁵⁰ The text reads from right to left and is written over seven columns. While only the lower quarter of the inscription is preserved in situ, over twenty fragments, mainly small, have been identified as belonging to this text. The hieroglyphs are relatively well carved, with the deceased referred to throughout in the first person. The signs are all painted blue, and the preservation of this paint is perhaps better than anywhere else within the Second Pillared Hall. The text is also accompanied by a vignette, which is one of the most complete within the entire tomb. The vignette that traditionally accompanies BD 50 is that of the deceased facing the slaughtering block, as described in the text of the spell. Yet, in the tomb of Karakhamun, the vignette of Chapter 47 is used in its place (fig. 10.11).⁵¹ This detail is perhaps not too surprising, since BD 50 immediately follows BD 47 in a number of papyri from the Late Period.⁵² In these instances, the



Fig. 10.8. SP4 (north face), Second Pillared Hall. Tomb of Karakhamun. Photo Katherine Blakeney, SACP

vignettes of both spells are purposefully combined, as is so aptly illustrated in the tomb of Pabasa, where this vignette also accompanies the text of BD 50.⁵³ However, in the tomb of Karakhamun, all traces of the slaughtering block associated with BD 50 have been omitted. Instead, the deceased is represented in three alternative manifestations: his human form, as a *b3*-bird representing his soul, and as a *benu*-bird or phoenix, a symbol of rejuvenation that is closely associated with the sun god Ra.⁵⁴ All three figures face to the left, with the *b3*-bird and *benu*-bird perching on a plinth, separated only by the addition of a representation of a tomb. In his human form, Karakhamun strides away from the tomb with his hands passively at his side. He is depicted with a clean-shaven head while wearing a long kilt that terminates just above the ankles, a broad collar, and pelt vest befitting his priestly office. The carving of the entire scene, particularly the facial features of Karakhamun, is of a poor standard, perhaps indicating that the decoration of the tomb progressed from east to west, with this vignette being one of the last to have been carved.

A second version of BD 57, “Spell for breathing air and having water available in the god’s domain,” is inscribed on the southern face of the pilaster (fig. 10.9). The text reads from left to right and is written over four columns. The hieroglyphs are moderately well executed, with the deceased referred to through the third-person suffix-*f*, as is the case in the other version of the spell within the tomb. While only the lower quarter of the text is preserved in situ, it is evident that what is inscribed on the pillar face represents a shortened version of the chapter. The text would seem to be Allen’s ‘Section B,’ which roughly corresponds to lines four through seven in the first version of the chapter.⁵⁵ This text is also accompanied by a vignette that, instead of depicting the sycamore tree goddess, has the deceased facing the rear of the tomb, perhaps before the image of the god Osiris, as is sometimes found in vignettes associated with this chapter.⁵⁶ Karakhamun wears a long kilt, which terminates just above his ankles, and a pelt vest across his chest, while holding an *ankh*-sign in his left hand. Although his right hand has not survived, it is likely that he held a sail representing the air that is requested by the deceased within the spell. While



Fig. 10.9. SP4 (south face), Second Pillared Hall. Tomb of Karakhamun. Photo Katherine Blakeney, SACP



Fig. 10.10. SP4 (east face), Second Pillared Hall. Tomb of Karakhamun. Photo Katherine Blakeney, SACP

it is usually only the Egyptian deities who hold *ankh*-signs, its inclusion within the scene is perhaps a play on the term *ḥw ʿnh*, “the breath of life” (𐀬𐀓 𐀓).⁵⁷

South Section of the West Wall

A second version of BD 75, “Spell for going to Heliopolis and taking a seat there,” is inscribed on the southwestern wall, between the southern statue of Osiris and the southwestern pilaster.⁵⁸ The lower quarter of the text is preserved in situ with the spell written over four columns and reading from left to right. The hieroglyphs are moderately well-executed, with the scribe seemingly exploding the word groupings in order to enable them to cover the four columns as opposed to the three needed, as in the first version of the chapter from the tomb. For example, in the first column, the word *mꜣḥrw*, “the justified,” is written as (𐀓𐀓𐀓𐀓) instead of the more traditional (𐀓𐀓). Comparing both versions reveals that the texts are virtually identical to one another, perhaps suggesting that they are based on the same source. It is unknown why two versions of the same spell were inscribed in close proximity to one another. It is certainly possible that this duplication was an oversight by the draftsman, although it is more likely that there was some, as yet unknown, intentional reasoning behind this feature. The text is accompanied by a vignette with only the right side of the scene having been identified thus far. Here, Karakhamun is depicted striding before the now-missing *lwn*-pillar of Heliopolis, as mentioned in the title of the spell.⁵⁹ He wears a long kilt, and pelt vest, and has a bald head, while

in his right hand he holds a long staff. The figure is finely carved, with the name of Karakhamun written horizontally above his head.

BD 15h is inscribed between the southern Osiris statue and the southern wall. Unlike all the other chapters from the *Book of the Dead*, the content of the text does not deal with the needs of the deceased, but instead represents a solar hymn to the setting sun god Ra-Horakhty.⁶⁰ The text is largely destroyed with only trace hieroglyphs preserved on the base of the wall. Yet the allocation of the chapter number has been made possible by the identification of eight fragments, one particularly large and spanning three columns, as belonging to BD 15h. The text is written over thirteen lines of text, with the first ten running from the southern wall until the statue of Osiris and the remaining three written above the statue. The carving of the hieroglyphs varies in quality, with the signs often crudely finished in the upper portions of the inscription. The signs are also widely spaced, with the draftsman seemingly avoiding the grouping of signs until the last few lines.

BD 15h is accompanied by a vignette that was surrounded by the text, as in the tomb of Pabasa. The vignette depicts the deceased kneeling before the image of Ra-Horakhty (fig. 10.12). He wears a *shendyt*-kilt, a broad collar, and a pelt vest across his chest, while on his head he wears a bag wig. Above his head are the remains of a label that reads “first *ḥ*-priest, Kar[akhamun].” Only the upper body of Ra-Horakhty has been identified thus far, but it is clear that he was represented enthroned.⁶¹ He has blue skin while his face and the solar disc atop his head are red, as is the long *was*-scepter that he holds in his right hand. Over his right shoulder, there are the remains of a red strap, with an elaborate knot indicating that the deity wears a long dress as can be found elsewhere in the tomb.⁶² Two vertical columns are positioned directly before his image, identifying him as “Ra-Horakhty, Lord of the Sky, Eldest of the Gods.”⁶³ Between both figures are the remains of an offering table, with only the bouquet of flowers preserved. The vignette is lightly incised and the scene is perhaps one of the more elaborately carved vignettes from the Second Pillared Hall. This, no doubt, reflects the importance of the chapter, as well as its prominent position on the western wall. The placement of BD 15h on the western wall of the tomb is most appropriate as the content of the chapter relates to the setting of the sun in the west. This is in contrast to other variants of BD 15 that relate to the rising of the sun, which are consistently placed on the eastern walls of tombs, often next to the doorway leading into the court.

North Section of West Wall

The northwestern section of the Second Pillared Hall, directly above the staircase, has been completely destroyed although it is now known that it was originally inscribed with at least two chapters of the *Book of the Dead*: BD 48, “Spell for letting N go forth against his enemies in the west,” and BD 49, “Spell for going forth against an enemy in the god’s domain.”⁶⁴ The number of columns occupied by the chapters is also unclear, although it is certain that they are much shorter in height



Fig. 10.11. Vignette accompanying BD 50 (SP4, east face), Second Pillared Hall. Tomb of Karakhamun. Photo Katherine Blakeney, SACP

than those on the pillars. Equally, the columns are noticeably wider and the hieroglyphs larger than the pillars, making the fragments easy to distinguish. At present there are no traces of an accompanying vignette and it seems highly unlikely that one was ever included for spatial reasons.⁶⁵ The placement of these chapters in close proximity to the staircase leading to the burial compartments—or the mythical ‘god’s domain’—was arguably a deliberate choice, for the titles of both chapters enable the deceased to “go forth,” *pꜣt*, a concept not encountered among the titles of any other chapters from the Second Pillared Hall.

Choice of Chapters and Their Layout

In total, fifty-seven chapters of the *Book of the Dead* have been identified within the tomb of Karakhamun so far. This includes thirty-four in the First Pillared Hall, twenty-two in the Second Pillared Hall, and BD 125 from the burial chamber. In addition to this, seven of these chapters are duplicated and a third occurrence of BD 51 is also known, bringing the total number of *Book of the Dead* texts identified to sixty-five.⁶⁶ The chapters within the Second Pillared Hall can be separated into a number of distinct categories. BD 26–28 relate to the preservation as well as the ability of the deceased to control one’s heart.⁶⁷ BD 57 and BD 63A enable the deceased to control the elements, such as air, fire, and water.⁶⁸ BD 77, BD 80, BD 84, and BD 86 are part of the ‘transformation spells,’ enabling the deceased to change into various forms.⁶⁹ BD 44–45 and BD 50–52 can be grouped together as spells relating to slaughter, the world turned upside down, and dying a second death.⁷⁰ Finally, BD 104–105 ensure that the deceased, with special emphasis placed on the *kꜣ*, receive constant nourishment in the afterlife.⁷¹



Fig. 10.12. Vignette from BD 15h (southwestern wall), Second Pillared Hall. Tomb of Karakhamun. *Photo Katherine Blakeney, SACP*

A number of observations can also be made on the distribution of the chapters within the Second Pillared Hall. BD 74 and BD 75 are the only spells within this hall that follow the canonical sequence so widely attested from the Twenty-sixth Dynasty onward. Yet, this should not be seen as evidence that the canonical system had not been established as early as the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, for within the First Pillared Hall of the tomb there is evidence supporting an earlier creation. This includes the groupings of BD 54 and 55, BD 59 and 60, and BD 105 and 106 on the southern pillars, and the long canonical sequence of BD 31–42 on the northern wall.

Texts within the Second Pillared Hall can also be grouped thematically. This includes BD 45 and 51, both of which prevent the deceased from suffering the misfortune of rotting or being turned upside down in the afterlife. BD 80, 84, and 86 may have been intentionally grouped together on the same pillar as they are all transformation spells. However, BD 26–28, which deal with the deceased having the ability to control one's heart, are inscribed on three different pillars and are thus void of any deliberate grouping. Other groupings can be found in the later tombs of the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasties, suggesting that their placement was deliberate. The choice of locating BD 50 and BD 91 on the same pilaster would also appear to have been deliberate, as such an arrangement is also present in the tombs of Sheshonq and Harwa.⁷² Furthermore, it is noteworthy that BD 15h is located on the adjacent western wall, in close proximity to this pilaster. A similar arrangement is also present in the tomb of Harwa, which again indicates a deliberate choice by

the artisans.⁷³ Einaudi suggests that BD 91 can be seen as the logical continuation of the solar hymn of BD 15, with the deceased requesting help from the sun-god Ra in transcending the boundaries of the afterlife.⁷⁴ It is also possible that BD 50 and BD 91 were deliberately inscribed on the far west of the tomb because of their content—particularly when also taking into consideration the vignette of BD 47—which relates to the deceased, and in particular his *b3*, being able to move freely between the world of the dead and the world of the living.

Another issue that warrants discussion is that of the six duplicated chapters within the Second Pillared Hall. Three of the chapters (BD 45, BD 51, and BD 105) occur in both pillared halls, while a further three (BD 57, BD 74, and BD 104) appear twice within the Second Pillared Hall itself.⁷⁵ While the duplication of spells is relatively common on papyri, due to the *Book of the Dead* being compiled from different sources, it is almost unheard of for monumental tombs.⁷⁶ With at least seven chapters duplicated throughout the tomb, it would be inconceivable to attribute this feature to scribal error. It would also be difficult to accept that the artisans had exhausted their available corpus, although it is noteworthy that four of the duplications occur on the western wall, and connecting pilasters, of the Second Pillared Hall. In other words, it is the area of the tomb that was likely to have been decorated last, if it is accepted that the tomb was decorated from front to back as the quality of the carving would suggest. While it is too early at this stage to determine if the texts are direct duplicates of one another, initial observations suggest that, with the exception of BD 57, they were. The fact that two versions of BD 57 are present within the tomb, one long and one condensed, would suggest that this duplication may have occurred because several master copies were being utilized. Further analysis on these texts must be sought before any definitive conclusion can be made.

Artisanship

While it is difficult to ascertain the exact number of individuals involved in the process of inscribing the *Book of the Dead* chapters within the Second Pillared Hall, the monumental size of the tomb dictates that a substantial workforce must have been employed throughout. This is confirmed by the varying quality of both the inscriptions and accompanying vignettes, as well as the paleographic analysis of individual signs. It has already been possible to identify individual hands on paleographic grounds, although a full study of the hieroglyphs within the tomb of Karakhamun is planned for the future. Until then, a detailed discussion on this issue must be deferred.

A study of the vignettes within the tomb of Karakhamun indicates that the artisans were using a master copy with distinct Late Period elements. Of the vignettes that are clearly identifiable (BD 47,⁷⁷ BD 57, BD 75, and BD 91), Mosher notes that they are not attested prior to the Late Period.⁷⁸ In addition, BD 19, which is inscribed on the northern wall of the First Pillared Hall, is only introduced into the corpus of texts in the Late Period.⁷⁹ The sheer volume of chapters of the *Book*

of the Dead from the tomb of Karakhamun indicates that systematic research, investigation, and revisions of this religious body of text must have taken place earlier in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty than previously acknowledged.⁸⁰ With this in mind, the so-called ‘Saite recension’ should perhaps be better understood as the ‘Kushite recension.’⁸¹ It is clear, even from this preliminary survey of the texts within the Second Pillared Hall, that the tomb of Karakhamun offers a valuable contribution to our knowledge and understanding of the *Book of the Dead* during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. As the earliest of the Late Period monumental Theban tombs to have been extensively inscribed with the *Book of the Dead*, the tomb of Karakhamun presents itself as a valuable resource for fellow scholars who continue to work on this genre of texts in the neighboring Late Period Theban tombs.

Notes

- 1 This is in contrast to the First Pillared Hall where the long sides contain eight columns of hieroglyphs each.
- 2 This practice is well attested in the Late Period Theban tombs. See Gloria Rosati, “Glimpses of the Book of the Dead in the Second Court of the Tomb of Montuemhat (TT 34),” in *Totenbuch-Forschungen: gesammelte Beiträge des 2. Internationalen Totenbuch-Symposiums, Bonn, 25. bis 29. September 2005*, edited by Burkhard Backes et al. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006), 298; Odgen Goelet, “Observations on Copying and the Hieroglyphic Tradition in the Production of the Book of the Dead,” in *Offerings to the Discerning Eye: An Egyptological Medley in Honor of Jack A. Josephson*, edited by Sue D’Auria (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 121–32. Goelet, on pages 128–29, discusses the use of retrograde writing in the Book of the Dead, suggesting that its use was connected with primordial times and that it was deemed to be the most sacred type of writing by the Egyptians. See Michail A. Chegodaeu, “Some Remarks Regarding the So-called ‘Retrograde’ Direction of Writing in the Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead,” *DE* 35 (1996), 19–24; Andrzej Niewiński, *Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri of the 11th and 10th Centuries B.C.* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989), 13–17. Yet in the tomb of Karkahamun, the *Pyramid Texts*, which surely must be classified as primordial and sacred, are not written retrograde.
- 3 Alternatively, the deceased can be proclaimed *nb imꜥh*, “possessor of reverence.”
- 4 BD 63 is attested in six New Kingdom Theban tombs (Mohamed Saleh, *Das Totenbuch in den thebanischen Beamtengräbern des Neuen Reiches. Texte und Vignetten* (Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1984), 34–35), while it is included in sixteen papyri from the Third Intermediate Period (Irmtraut Munro, *Spruchvorkommen auf Totenbuch-Textzeugen der Dritten Zwischenzeit* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2001), 36). The chapter also occurs in the Late Period Theban tombs of Pabasa (Rosati, “Glimpses of the Book of the Dead,” pl. 1a) and Padihorresnet (Erhart Graefe, *Das Grab des Padihorresnet, Obervermögensverwalter der Gottesgemahlin des Amun (Thebanisches Grab Nr. 196)*, Vol. 2, *Monumenta Aegyptiaca* 9 (Tournhout, Brussels: Brepols, Fondation Égyptologique Reine Elisabeth, 2003), 64).
- 5 BD 27 is only attested once in the Theban tombs of the New Kingdom while it occurs thirty-nine times amongst the papyri of the Third Intermediate Period (Munro,

- Spruchvorkommen*, 20–21). The only other Late Period Theban tomb in which it is included is that of Mentuemhat (Rosati, “Glimpses of the Book of the Dead,” pl. 6).
- 6 BD 77 occurs only once among the New Kingdom Theban tomb (Saleh, *Das Totenbuch in den thebanischen Beamtengräbern*, 40) and twenty-four times within the papyri of the Third Intermediate Period (Munro, *Spruchvorkommen*, 42). In the Late Period, it is also attested in the Theban tombs of Padihorresnet (Graefe, *Das Grab des Padihorresnet* II, 116) and Sheshonq (Gloria Rosati, “Il Libro dei Morti sui pilastri orientali della corte [Tomba tebana 27 di Sheshonq all’Asasif. III Rapporto preliminare],” *Vicino Oriente* 9 (1993): 114).
 - 7 Malcolm Mosher, “The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead in the Late Period: A Study of Revisions Evident in Evolving Vignettes, and the Possible Chronological or Geographical Implications for Differing Versions of Vignettes” (Ph.D diss., University of California at Berkeley, 1989), 294–95.
 - 8 Mosher, “The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead,” 294.
 - 9 BD 26 is included in two New Kingdom Theban tombs (Saleh, *Das Totenbuch in den thebanischen Beamtengräbern*, 25) while it occurs seventy-four times among the papyri of the Third Intermediate Period (Munro, *Spruchvorkommen*, 18–20). It also occurs in the Late Period Theban tombs of Mentuemhat (Rosati, “Glimpses of the Book of the Dead,” pl. 5), and Sheshonq (Rosati, “Il Libro dei Morti,” 115).
 - 10 BD 52 is not attested in any Theban tombs of the New Kingdom, while it occurs only once in the papyri of the Third Intermediate Period (Munro, *Spruchvorkommen*, 32). The only other Late Period Theban tomb where the chapter is present is that of Pabasa (Rosati, “Glimpses of the Book of the Dead,” pl. 1a).
 - 11 A similar graphic confusion can be found in BD 54 (First Pillared Hall, SP2, south side) where the word *ḥ* is mistakenly written with the door bolt (*ḥ*) in place of the land sign. Compare Peter der Manuelian, *Living in the Past: Studies in Archaism of the Egyptian Twenty-sixth Dynasty* (London: Kegan Paul International, 1994), 78; Colleen Manassa, *The Late Egyptian Underworld: Sarcophagi and Related Texts from the Nectanebid Period*, vol. 1 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007), 401.
 - 12 Karl Richard Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien, Text herausgegeben von Eduard Naville* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1897–1913), Text 3, 288.
 - 13 BD 57 is not attested among the Theban tombs of the New Kingdom although it does appear seven times within the papyri of the Third Intermediate Period (Munro, *Spruchvorkommen*, 34). The chapter becomes more common during the Late Period where it is included in the Theban tombs of Ankh-Hor (I: 118–19), Montuemhat (Rosati, “Glimpses of the Book of the Dead,” pl. 23), Pabasa (Rosati, “Glimpses of the Book of the Dead,” pl. 1a), Padiamenope (Traunecker, “Le palais funéraire de Padiamenopé redécouvert (TT 33),” *Egypte, Afrique et Orient* 51 (2008): 28), and Sheshonq (Rosati, “Il Libro dei Morti,” 115).
 - 14 See Ernest A.W. Budge, *The Book of the Dead: The Chapters of Coming Forth by Day*, I (London: Kegan Paul, Trench Trübner & Co., 1898), 127–29; Günther Lapp, *The Papyrus of Nu (BM EA 10477)* (London: British Museum Press, 1996), pl. 33; Naville, *Das ägyptische Totenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie*, II (Berlin: A. Asher & Co, 1886), pl. 126.
 - 15 Rosati, “Glimpses of the Book of the Dead,” 299.

- 16 Mosher ("The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead," 265–66), notes that the tree goddess is only referred to in Chapter 59, but that in the Late Period it was used for the other water and air spells (57–60 and 63). For more on sycamore tree goddesses, see Nils Billing, "Nut: The Goddess of Life in Text and Iconography." (PhD diss., Department of Archaeology and Ancient History, Uppsala University, 2002).
- 17 In the tomb of Pabasa, the deceased is also depicted seated, while in the tomb of Sheshonq he is represented standing (Rosati, "Il Libro dei Morti," fig. 18).
- 18 BD 24 is not present in any Theban tombs of the New Kingdom, although it does occur fifty-four times in the papyri of the Third Intermediate Period (Munro, *Spruchvorkommen*, 15–16). The only other Late Period Theban tomb in which the chapter is included is that of Mentuemhat (Rosati, "Glimpses of the Book of the Dead," pl. 5).
- 19 BD 80 is not attested in any New Kingdom Theban tombs, although it does occur ten times among the papyri of the Third Intermediate Period (Munro, *Spruchvorkommen*, 44). For a synoptic edition of BD 80 in the Eighteenth Dynasty, see Barbara Lüscher, *Die Verwandlungssprüche (Tb 76–88)* (Basel: Orientverlag, 2006), 213–37. Aside from a second copy of the chapter within the Second Pillared Hall of the tomb of Karakhamun (SP2), the only other Late Period Theban tomb where it is attested is that of Mentuemhat (Rosati, "Glimpses of the Book of the Dead," pl. 16).
- 20 BD 104 is only attested in a single New Kingdom Theban tomb (Saleh, *Das Totenbuch in den thebanischen Beamtenengräbern*, 55) while it occurs eleven times in the papyri of the Third Intermediate Period (Munro, *Spruchvorkommen*, 59). Aside from a second copy of the chapter within the Second Pillared Hall of the tomb of Karakhamun (NP4), Chapter 104 is also present in the Late Period Theban tombs of Padihorresnet (Graefe, *Das Grab des Padihorresnet* II: 206) and Padiamenopet (Traunecker, "Le palais funéraire," 28).
- 21 This is confirmed by a blemish that is found in the writing of the word *sktt*, one that is also present in the transcription of Lepsius (*Denkmäler*, Text 3, 288).
- 22 The first copy of BD 51 is located on the northern face of SP1 within the First Pillared Hall, while a second copy is located on the southern face of SP2 within the Second Pillared Hall.
- 23 Mosher, "The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead," 324–25.
- 24 The first copy of BD 44 is inscribed on the southern face of the southeastern pilaster (SP1) in the First Pillared Hall. The chapter is not attested among the New Kingdom Theban tombs, although it does occur seven times among the papyri of the Third Intermediate Period (Munro, *Spruchvorkommen*, 31). It is also included in the Late Period Theban tombs of Ankh-Hor (Graefe, *Das Grab des Padihorresnet* I: 113), Padihorresnet (Graefe, *Das Grab des Padihorresnet* II: 60), and Sheshonq (Rosati, "Il Libro dei Morti," 116).
- 25 The first copy is inscribed on the northern face of the second northern pillar (NP3) of the Second Pillared Hall.
- 26 Raymond O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*, Vol. 1 (Oxford: Aris & Phillips, 2004.), 166.
- 27 Although BD 84 is not attested among the New Kingdom Theban tombs, the spell is particularly common in papyri from this period. See Lüscher, *Die Verwandlungssprüche*, 300–66, for a synoptic edition of BD 84 in the Eighteenth Dynasty. The chapter

- is included in at least twelve papyri from the Third Intermediate Period (Munro, *Spruchvorkommen*, 47), while it is also present in the Late Period Theban tombs of Mentuemhat (Rosati, “Glimpses of the Book of the Dead,” pl. 18) and Padihorresnet (Graefe, *Das Grab des Padihorresnet* II: 195–96).
- 28 This is made possible by a corner fragment that indicates that BD 84 and the adjacent BD 45 were accompanied by vignettes.
- 29 Mosher, “The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead,” 302.
- 30 BD 45 is only attested in one New Kingdom Theban tomb (Saleh, *Das Totenbuch in den thebanischen Beamtengräbern*, 96), while it occurs at least six times in the papyri of the Third Intermediate Period (Munro, *Spruchvorkommen*, 31). It seems to be particularly common in Late Period Theban tombs, where it is also present in the tombs of Ankh-Hor (Graefe, *Das Grab des Padihorresnet* I: 117), Harwa (Rosati, “Glimpses of the Book of the Dead,” pl. 2a), Pabasa (Rosati, “Glimpses of the Book of the Dead,” pl. 1a), Padihorresnet (Graefe, *Das Grab des Padihorresnet* II: 138), and Sheshonq (Rosati, “Il Libro dei Morti,” 116–17). Chapter 51 is not included among the New Kingdom Theban tombs while it only occurs twice amongst the papyri of the Third Intermediate Period (Munro, *Spruchvorkommen*, 32). The only other Late Period Theban tomb that it occurs in is that of Pabasa (Rosati, “Glimpses of the Book of the Dead,” pl. 1a).
- 31 Mosher, “The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead,” 250.
- 32 Mosher, “The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead,” 257–58.
- 33 BD 86 is included in two New Kingdom Theban tombs (Saleh, *Das Totenbuch in den thebanischen Beamtengräbern*, 49), while it occurs at least twenty-six times in the papyri of the Third Intermediate Period (Munro, *Spruchvorkommen*, 48–49). Aside from the tomb of Karakhamun, the chapter is also attested in the tombs of Mentuemhat (Rosati, “Glimpses of the Book of the Dead,” pl. 20) and Padihorresnet (Graefe, *Das Grab des Padihorresnet* II: 199–201). For a synoptic edition of Chapter 86 in the Eighteenth Dynasty, see Lüscher, *Die Verwandlungssprüche*, 367–438.
- 34 The first copy is inscribed on the western face of the second northern pillar (NP3) within the Second Pillared Hall.
- 35 Mosher, “The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead,” 298–300.
- 36 The first version is located on the southern face of second southern pillar (SP3) within the First Pillared Hall. BD 105 occurs four times within the Theban tombs of the New Kingdom (Saleh, *Das Totenbuch in den thebanischen Beamtengräbern*, 55–56), while in the papyri of the Third Intermediate Period it occurs fourteen times (Munro, *Spruchvorkommen*, 59). The chapter is also found in the Late Period Theban tombs of Padiamenopet (Traunecker, “Le palais funéraire,” 28) and Padihorresnet (Graefe, *Das Grab des Padihorresnet* II, 204–205). For a detailed analysis of the text of BD 105, see Jiri Janák, “Journey to the Resurrection: Chapter 105 of the Book of the Dead in the New Kingdom,” *SAK* 31 (2003): 193–210.
- 37 The text traditionally concludes *n prt-hrw im.i n hrwy ky dd n hrwy Nwt*, “I am not an invocation offering for the heavenly ones, others say: heavenly ones and Nut.” See Janák, “Journey to the Resurrection,” 203.
- 38 The conclusion of the first version of BD 105 has not been preserved, and therefore it is unknown, at present, if the text concluded in the same way.

- 39 In the tomb of Padihorresnet, the deceased is depicted standing before the *k3*-standard laden with offerings (Graefe, *Das Grab des Padihorresnet* II: fig. 120).
- 40 These two chapters appear together in the tombs of Mentuemhat (Rosati, "Glimpses of the Book of the Dead," pl. 14) and Padihorresnet (Graefe, *Das Grab des Padihorresnet* II, 142). Chapter 74 is also included in the tomb of Pabasa (Rosati, "Glimpses of the Book of the Dead," pl. 1a), while BD 75 occurs in the tomb of Sheshonq (Rosati, "Il Libro dei Morti," 114–15). BD 74 occurs at least twenty-one times among the Theban tombs of the New Kingdom, while BD 75 does not occur at all (Saleh, *Das Totenbuch in den thebanischen Beamtengräbern*, 38–39). In the papyri of the Third Intermediate Period, BD 74 occurs four times while BD 75 is included nine times (Munro, *Spruchvorkommen*, 40–41).
- 41 Peter Le Page Renouf, "The Book of the Dead: Chapters LXXI–LXXXVI," *PSBA* 16 (1894): 71.
- 42 BD 100 occurs in two New Kingdom Theban tombs (Saleh, *Das Totenbuch in den thebanischen Beamtengräbern*, 52) and twenty-two times in the papyri of the Third Intermediate Period (Munro, *Spruchvorkommen*, 56). In the Late Period, it is also attested in the Theban tombs of Padiamenopet (Traunecker, "Le palais funéraire," 28) and Padihorresnet (Graefe, *Das Grab des Padihorresnet* II: 143–44).
- 43 For more on BD 100 as found in amuletic form, see Orsolya Illés, "Single Spell Book of the Dead Papyri as Amulets," in *Totenbuch-Forschungen: gesammelte Beiträge des 2. Internationalen Totenbuch-Symposiums, Bonn, 25. bis 29. September 2005*, edited by Burkhard Backes et al. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006), 121–33.
- 44 This writing is also found in BD 100 from the tomb of Padihorresnet (Graefe, *Das Grab des Padihorresnet* II, 143–44).
- 45 Mosher, "The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead," 320.
- 46 BD 28 is only attested in a single New Kingdom Theban tomb (Saleh, *Das Totenbuch in den thebanischen Beamtengräbern*, 96), while it occurs fifty-six times within the papyri of the Third Intermediate Period (Munro, *Spruchvorkommen*, 21–22). In the Late Period Theban tombs it also occurs in the tomb of Mentuemhat (Rosati, "Glimpses of the Book of the Dead," pl. 6).
- 47 BD 91 does not appear in the New Kingdom Theban tombs although it is included in nine papyri from the Third Intermediate Period (Munro, *Spruchvorkommen*, 51). The spell is also present in the Late Period Theban tombs of Harwa (Rosati, "Glimpses of the Book of the Dead," fig. 2a), Padiamenopet (Traunecker, "Le palais funéraire," 28), and Sheshonq (Rosati, "Il Libro dei Morti," 117).
- 48 Compare Loredana Sist, "Le figurazione della Tomba TT 27" (Tomba tebana 27 di Sheshonq all'Asasif. III Rapporto preliminare), *Vicino Oriente* 9 (1993): fig. 19h.
- 49 Mosher, "The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead," 310–11.
- 50 BD 50 appears once in the New Kingdom Theban tombs (Saleh, *Das Totenbuch in den thebanischen Beamtengräbern*, 96) and six times in papyri of the Third Intermediate Period (Munro, *Spruchvorkommen*, 32). It is also present in the Late Period Theban tombs of Ankh-Hor (Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer I: 113–14), Harwa (Rosati, "Glimpses of the Book of the Dead," 2a), Pabasa (Rosati, "Glimpses of the Book of the Dead," fig. 1a), Padihorresnet (Graefe, *Das Grab des Padihorresnet* II: 138), and Sheshonq (Rosati, "Il Libro dei Morti," 117).

- 51 The text of BD 47 does not appear to have been inscribed within the tomb of Karakhamun.
- 52 Mosher, "The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead," 253.
- 53 The same vignette is also found in the tomb of Sheshonq. Compare Alessandro Roccati, "Il Libro dei Morti de Šešonq," *Oriens Antiquus* 15 (1976): figs. 17–18; Sist, "Le figurazione della Tomba TT 27," fig. 19.
- 54 Mosher, "The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead," 252–53.
- 55 Thomas G. Allen, *The Book of the Dead or Going Forth by Day: Ideas of the Ancient Egyptians Concerning the Hereafter as Expressed in Their Own Terms* (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1974), 54.
- 56 This vignette represents version one of Mosher's ("The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead," 265) typology.
- 57 Mosher, "The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead," 715, notes a number of examples from BD 57 in which the deceased is represented holding both an *ankh*-sign and a sail in his hand.
- 58 The first version of this chapter is located on the southern face of the second southern pillar (SP3) within the Second Pillared Hall.
- 59 Mosher, "The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead," 292.
- 60 Variants of BD 15, and other solar hymns, are commonplace in the New Kingdom Theban tombs. The chapter is also common in the papyri of the Third Intermediate Period, with at least thirty-four occurrences (Munro, *Spruchvorkommen*, 8–9). In the Late Period Theban tombs, variants of BD 15 appear in Ankh-Hor (Jan Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen in thebanischen Gräbern* (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1983), 372), Harwa (Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen*, 65), Mutirdis (Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen*, 370), Pabasa (Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen*, 309, 314–23), Padiamenopet (Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen*, 42–43), Padihorresnet (Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen*, 273), and Sheshonq (Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen*, 36, 39).
- 61 Mosher, "The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead," 636, notes that this is the standard vignette for BD 15 during the Late Period.
- 62 Pischikova, "Early Kushite Tombs of South Asasif," *BMSAES* 12 (2009): 17.
- 63 *R^c-Hr-3hty ntr ʿ3 nb pt [w]r ntrw*. For Ra-Horakhty and his epithets, see *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen IV*, edited by Christian Leitz, Budde Dagmare, Peter Dils, Lothar Goldbrunner, Daniela Mendel, Frank Förster, Daniel von Recklinghausen, and Bettina Ventker (Leuven: Peeters, 2002–2003), 630a–632c.
- 64 Neither chapter makes an appearance among the New Kingdom Theban tombs, although they do occur seven and nine times, respectively, within the papyri of the Third Intermediate Period (Munro, *Spruchvorkommen*, 6). Aside from Karakhamun, the only other Late Period Theban tomb in which they occur is that of Padihorresnet (Graefe, *Das Grab des Padihorresnet* II, 98–99).
- 65 Mosher, "The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead," 149, also notes that these chapters are never accompanied by their own vignettes in any Late Period documents.
- 66 The duplicate chapters are BD 44, BD 51, BD 57, BD 75, and BD 104–106.
- 67 John H. Taylor, "Empowering the Dead," in *Journey Through the Afterlife: Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead*, edited by John H. Taylor (London: The British Museum Press, 2010), 161–62.

- 68 As do BD 58–60, which are inscribed within the First Pillared Hall. Taylor, “Empowering the Dead,” 165.
- 69 BD 79, BD 82, and BD 85, which are also part of the transformation spells, are inscribed within the First Pillared Hall. For a synoptic version of all the transformation spells within the Eighteenth Dynasty, see Lüscher, *Die Verwandlungssprüche*.
- 70 John H. Taylor, “Avoiding Disaster,” in *Journey Through the Afterlife: Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead*, edited by John H. Taylor (London: The British Museum Press, 2010), 188.
- 71 Taylor, “Empowering the Dead,” 163.
- 72 Rosati, “Glimpses of the Book of the Dead,” 298.
- 73 The only major exception is that in the tomb of Harwa the texts appear on the eastern side of the court as opposed to the western side, as with the tomb of Karakhamun. For the distribution of the texts in the tomb of Harwa, see Rosati, “Glimpses of the Book of the Dead,” pl. 2a.
- 74 Silvia Einaudi, “Le Livre des Morts dans la Cour de la Tombe de Haroua (TT 37): nouvelles découvertes,” in *Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Egyptologists, University of the Aegean, Rhodes*, edited by Panagiotis Kousoulis and Nikolaos Lazaridis, (Leuven: Peeters, 22–29 May 2008), 19–24.
- 75 In addition, BD 106 occurs twice within the First Pillared Hall.
- 76 John H. Taylor, “Preparing for the Afterlife,” in *Journey Through the Afterlife: Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead*, edited by John H. Taylor (London: The British Museum Press, 2010), 35.
- 77 This vignette accompanies BD 50.
- 78 In addition, the vignettes from BD 92 and BD 94 located within the First Pillared Hall are also distinctly Late Period in origin. See Mosher, “The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead,” 253–54, 260, 266, 292, 310–12, 315–16.
- 79 Mosher (“The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead,” n. 3) originally suggested that the chapter was a creation of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, before later revising this dating to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty (“Five Versions of Spell 19 from the Late Period Book of the Dead,” in *Egypt and Beyond: Essays Presented to Leonard H. Lesko upon his Retirement from the Wilbour Chair of Egyptology at Brown University June 2005*, edited by Steven E. Thompson and Peter der Manuelian (Providence, RI: Brown University Department of Egyptology and Ancient Western Asian Studies, 2008), 237).
- 80 Malcolm Mosher, “Theban and Memphite Book of the Dead Traditions in the Late Period,” *JARCE* 29 (1992): 143. Intraut Munro, “Evidence of a Master Copy Transferred from Thebes to the Memphis Area in Dynasty 26,” *BMSAES* 15 (2010): 204, notes that there are only two *Book of the Dead* papyri that can be dated convincingly to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty.
- 81 Munro, “The Evolution of the Book of the Dead,” in *Journey Through the Afterlife: Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead*, edited by John H. Taylor (London: The British Museum Press, 2010), 58.

A Bright Night Sky over Karakhamun: The Astronomical Ceiling of the Main Burial Chamber in TT 223

*Miguel Ángel Molinero Polo**

A small number of documents with astronomical features in their design are known from ancient Egypt. They include Middle Kingdom representations of diagonal clocks in coffins' lids; New Kingdom ceilings in royal and private tombs and in several temples, as well as the inner side of some sarcophagi's lids; and a wider variety of documents in the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods, such as sanctuary walls and ceilings, sarcophagi and coffins' lids, and clepsydrae and astronomical texts on papyri. Few examples come from the Late Period, and only two ceilings older than TT 223 are known of in private tombs;¹ this gives more significance to the exemplar discovered in the burial chamber of Karakhamun in the South Asasif necropolis.

The date of the decoration is confirmed to Karakhamun, since his name has been identified in several places in the chamber. A notable example was reconstructed from detached blocks that join with certainty over two figures of the tomb owner on both sides of the entrance on the west wall.²

The chamber (labeled X in the archaeological register of the tomb) and its ceiling were rediscovered at the end of the 2010 season,³ nearly completely covered by debris. It was cleared in 2011, and at the same time, its astronomical features were copied and photographed, enabling the writing of this paper (fig. 11.1). The restoration began the following year,⁴ which has allowed the discoveries and identifications made at that time to be introduced in this chapter.

As has already been noted in chapter 9, funerary texts became extremely rare in the Theban necropolis for nearly a hundred years, since the end of the ninth century bc. The presence of an astronomical ceiling in three tombs of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty,⁵ at the same time as the recovery of written texts for the deceased, shows that these stellar diagrams were considered by ancient Egyptians to be an



Fig. 11.1. View of the burial chamber ceiling seen from the west at the end of the 2011 season.
Photo Katherine Blakeney, SACP

integral part of their cultural memory. This is specially meaningful in the case of Padiamenope—in the transition to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty—given that it collects a kind of selection of ancient funerary textual traditions. The appearance of the astronomical ceiling in TT 223, in which the recourse to the earliest texts (Pyramid Texts and Coffin Texts) is less marked than in other tombs of the period, reinforces the idea of its belonging to the current religious corpus.

General Description

The inner space of the burial chamber measures 4.59 meters in length, 3.1 meters in width, and 2.1 meters in height, the shorter sides being those of the east and west. The walls and ceiling were not carved, but painted in very bright colors on a layer of thin plaster. All four walls display the vignette and text of spell 125 of the *Book of Going Forth by Day* and were considerably damaged when found. The eastern third of the ceiling had also fallen, but a large number of its fragments have been found in the debris and are being returned to their original place, allowing the completion, even if only conceptually, of the whole image.

The most original and prominent feature of the ceiling is the goddess Nut stretching from the eastern to the western wall, with her head on the east side, matching the mythological point of view to the real orientation of the burial chamber with the cardinal directions. (fig. 11.2). Her bright yellow figure stands out against the dark-blue night sky. Although this deity is relatively common in previous celestial representations,

she appears in them with her body arched and legs and arms resting on the ground, which is represented by one of the borders of the scene. In New Kingdom royal tombs, the goddess is shown in profile, speckled with stars and with the sun disc repeated several times, representing the path between her mouth and the birth canal through which the astral god appears at dawn. In Karakhamun's tomb, by contrast, her whole body is shown in a frontal view in the middle of the ceiling, following the east–west axis of the chamber, as she would be viewed by someone situated under her arched figure. Her outstretched arms seem to lead the solar disk, flanked with uraei, toward the west; her black hair has apparently fallen into the horizon; one sun, as a red circle, is below the chin and a second one in the area of the navel; the hips are still visible, but the rest of the legs are mostly lost. Some painted fragments with the traces of her body were identified and restored to their original places on the ceiling in 2012. Among them are those corresponding to the third sun in the lower part of her skirt, near the hem. The repeating image of the solar disk is an affirmation of the mythological sense of the figure. The head is to the west, since it is at sunset that Nut swallows the sun that will be reborn, rejuvenated, at dawn, over the eastern horizon.

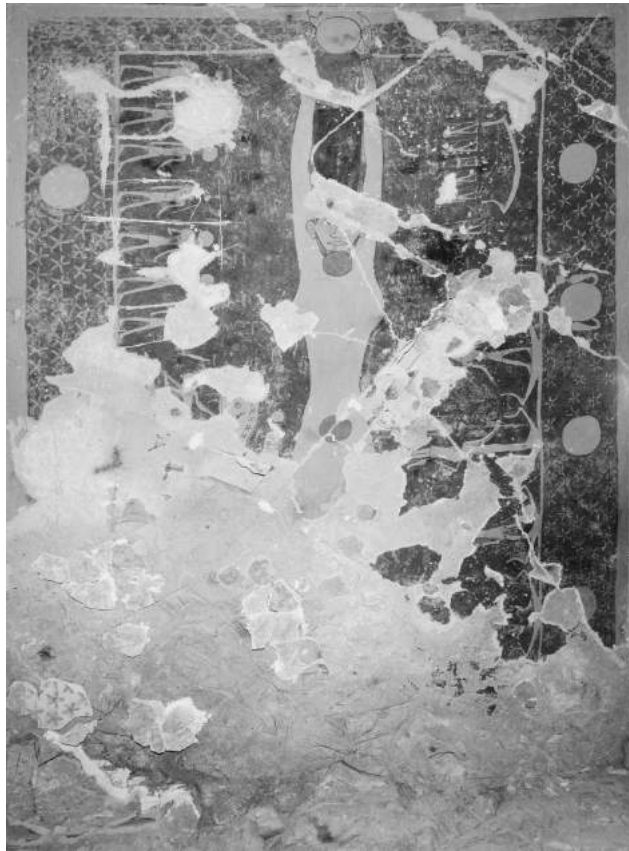


Fig. 11.2. Burial chamber ceiling. Composite photograph made with several images. Photo Tor Moore, SACP

This type of image of the goddess, very common in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, has an earlier, close precedent in the sarcophagus of Merenptah, usurped by Psusennes and found in Tanis.⁶ However, the tanite representation does not feature the falling hair. There, Nut is represented in a wig, her body is studded with stars and is not traversed by solar disks, and the pattern of disposition of the asterisms around her is rather different.

In comparison to earlier astronomical ceilings, the goddess in TT 223 replaces a number of different motifs: one or several lines of hieroglyphic texts (Senenmut, Osorkon II); rows of solar circles (Tausert); a strip with the colors of the earth (Ramses VI B); two female bodies, back to back, of the celestial goddess (Ramses VI D). The tombs nearest chronologically, those of Mentuemhat and Padiamenope, feature two parallel lines, one with stars and the other with inscriptions. In most of these tombs, the text is one of the variants of the so-called Nut spell, known since the Pyramid Texts, that exhorts the goddess to spread over the body of the deceased.⁷ The image of TT 223's main chamber reproduces this gesture iconographically.

Your mother Nut has spread herself over you, in her identity of Shetpet. She has made you be a god without an opponent of yours, in your identity of god, [joining] you away from everything bad, in her identity of Great Sieve. You are the eldest of her children. (638a–d, PT 368)⁸

The figure of the goddess in TT 223 performs the same function as the motifs occupying the center of the scene in other monuments. It divides the ceiling into two equal parts corresponding to the southern (south half) and boreal (north half) sky, correctly located according to the cardinal directions. The crowns of the *uraei* that protect the western solar disk reaffirm the symbolic and real orientations of the ceiling (fig. 11.3). Following a commonly accepted interpretation, ancient Egyptians recognized in Nut the Milky Way,⁹ so the figure fulfills the same function here as in the heavenly vault, separating the groups of asterisms of both parts.

In Karakhamun's southern firmament, the representation is composed of three elements: the decans, shown through their written names and a star that supposedly forms part of an actual asterism; their accompanying deity again depicted as a written name and a figure; and after them, the planets, of which two outer ones can be recognized. In the lost part, there is space enough for the epagomenal decans and the two inner planets.

In the northern firmament, the attending deities in the western third of the scene are in relatively good condition. In the central part, the hollow formed by the breast and hips of the goddess flanked the boreal constellations, of which only fragments remain. The feet and other parts of five attending deities that flank them, symmetrically, on the eastern side have been identified among the detached painted blocks collected during the excavation of the chamber and have been placed back in their original positions during the 2012 season.

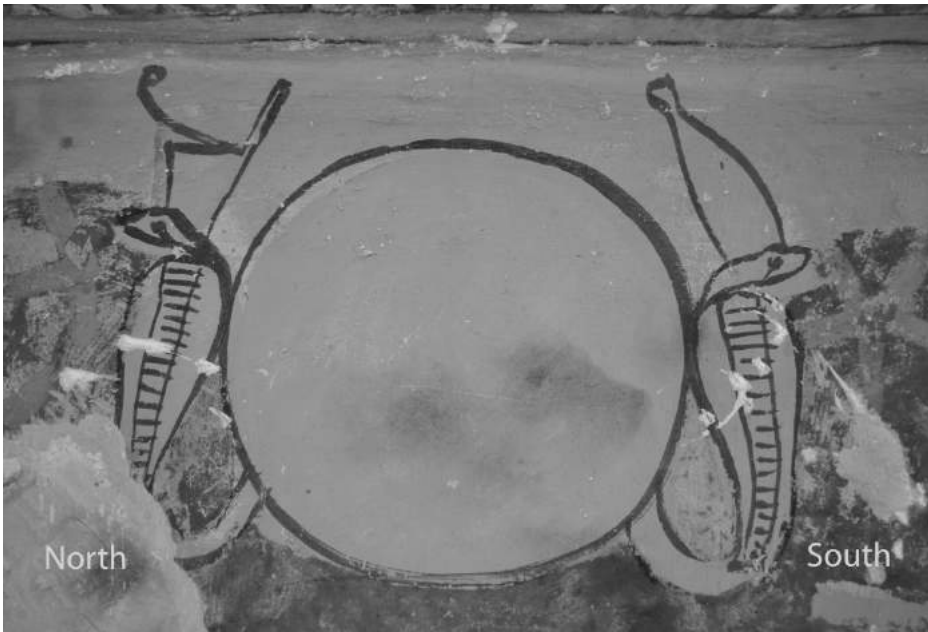


Fig. 11.3. Western solar disc with uraei. Burial chamber. *Photo Miguel Á. Molinero Polo*

The main astronomical section of the ceiling is surrounded by a frame, broader in the long sides than in the shorter ones. It is composed of a net of five-point yellow stars with a red circle in the middle, different, therefore, from the solid yellow stars appearing in the central section (fig. 11.4). The long sides show four (north) and five (south) rows of stars, while the preserved short side (west) has been provided with only two. The east side is not as broad as the long ones, but for the moment it is impossible to determine the precise number of star rows; most probably there were at least four. A similar pattern surrounds other contemporary ceilings, such as those of Mentuemhat¹⁰ and Padiamenope,¹¹ and later Hermopolis B.¹²

The most noteworthy feature of the star band is a sequence of solar disks incorporated into the pattern at irregular intervals. The sequence is different on the north and south sides. Only one disk is preserved in the north, in comparison to four in the south. No explanation can be given for this feature, but it is surely not merely decorative, especially since it is repeated with identical frequency in later documents. The ceiling of Ibi's burial chamber (Twenty-sixth Dynasty, in Asasif) shows a similar pattern, with four solar disks on the north side and two on the south side. Their positions in respect to asterisms are not recognizable, since the rest of the ceiling is lost, except for the first sun of southern sky; this is near the constellation of the Boat, but not precisely under it as in TT 223.¹³ In contrast, the inner face of the lid of Hornedjitef, a wooden coffin from Ptolemaic Thebes,¹⁴ shows the same pattern of positions as in Karakhamun's ceiling: the first sun is under the boat constellation,



Fig. 11.4. Stars and solar disks of the surrounding frame. South burial chamber. *Photo Katherine Blakeney, SACP*

the second, also with uraei, under Khentet's stars, the third under Sopdet, and the fourth under the planet Jupiter. By comparison with this image, two solar disks could be assumed in the eastern band of the frame in the chamber, now lost; one on each side of the feet of the goddess, the southern with uraei.

Identification of the Prototype

O. Neugebauer and R.A. Parker compiled more than fifty lists of decans, partially or completely preserved, and organized them into five 'families' and a miscellaneous group. They do not provide a specific explanation of their methodology for creating this classification, though it implies the existence of a different prototype for each,¹⁵ whose hypothetical reconstruction can be deduced from the presence or absence of certain decans in all the members of a particular group.¹⁶ Having deduced this, the historical development of the families and the relationships among its members are not taken into account by these authors. Nevertheless, this is material to which it would be desirable to apply the methods of textual criticism that have been introduced into Egyptology in recent decades and have been usefully applied to clocks on Middle Kingdom coffin lids.¹⁷ This chapter is not the place for a work of this nature, but it is necessary, at least, to assign the decanal list of Karakhamun—and of the other astral elements of the ceiling—to one of the already established families.

The analysis of textual criticism that J. Kahl applied to the diagonal clocks allows the use of the groups established by Neugebauer and Parker. While he has shown that the chronology that they give to the prototypes from which the models of the inner lids of the Middle Kingdom coffins were created is erroneous, the stemma of

transmission that he sets up places every group of coffins in a different and independent branch, confirming their derivation from a common model.¹⁸ Following, thus, the classification established by the two aforementioned authors, a comparison has been made between the list of decans of TT 223, completely conserved except for two names, with their ‘families.’¹⁹ The presence in the burial chamber of certain stars absent from all except for the one to which the model can be related has assured its adscription.²⁰ In consequence, the Senenmut group is the only one to which all decanal names copied in TT 223 belong.

Within this family, Neugebauer and Parker recognized two subgroups of decans besides the main one, but Karakhamun’s ceiling fits only with the latter. Subgroup A is identified by the inclusion of *rmn s3h* among the stars related to Sah. If present in TT 223, it should have been in the lacuna over the figure of the constellation and, therefore, impossible to confirm nowadays; but the order of the names related to this asterism, as well as the erroneous repetition of *hry rmn s3h* in Karakhamun’s chamber, both of which are identical to the main group,²¹ rejects the approach to A. This is confirmed by its chronology, since the secured documents of this subgroup are limited to the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties. Subgroup B differs with chamber X on the gods associated with the decans. In consequence, there is only complete coincidence with the asterisms and deities of the main group.

As a final confirmation of the pattern of Karakhamun’s ceiling, Neugebauer and Parker note that the figures and names of the deities accompanying the northern constellations tend to ascribe themselves to the same groups as the decans and the names of the constellations.²² According to this commonality, the divine figures in TT 223 are those of the aforementioned family, as are the rare preserved names of the central constellations as well.

Only two astronomical monuments are older than Karakhamun’s ceiling in the main group of this family: Senenmut’s ceiling and Amenhotep III’s clepsydra. Meaningfully, the nearest examples belong to the Theban funerary temples of Mentuemhat and Padiamenope in Asasif.²³ Nevertheless, these three chronologically related documents differ in details that will be stressed in the next pages.

The Process of Painting the Ceiling

Once the model was established, the artists began the process of expressing it on the ceiling. It has been possible to recognize the procedure they followed by checking the fallen fragments collected in the chamber’s debris. The need for very close visual analysis of them to identify provenance has resulted in an understanding of the steps taken to implement the decoration. This has been helped by the fact that the blue pigment has not correctly resisted contact with the earth and other kinds of sediment. It has degraded, shedding from the surface, and allowing the traces of the different stages of work to be seen (fig. 11.5).

The limestone bedrock was carved rather crudely, without later smoothing, resulting in a very rough surface. This might have been left on purpose in order to

achieve greater adherence of the coating. The consequence is that the thickness of the plaster is irregular, thin in some places and thick in others. The eastern part of the ceiling is the area where it was the highest, as can be recognized by the fragments already recuperated, and it is also the most lost. Therefore, it seems logical to think that there is a relationship between the thickness—and therefore, weight—of the layer and its subsequent fall. In the better preserved western part, the plaster, where it can be seen, is very thin.

The decoration was started with a grid of lines made with yellow paint. Since they have only been identified in some fragments that have completely lost their blue covering, it has not been possible to recognize their original placement and, therefore, the extent of this linear guide. Then, with the same yellow color, the bodies of the main figures of the central section—Nut, assistant deities and constellations of the northern sky, decans in boats, and planets of the southern sky—were painted, as well as the stars of the external frame. This stage was done in a somewhat careless manner, since the final silhouette was formed later, in the next step. This involved the drawing with black ink of the layout of both the frame with its stars and the large figures previously mentioned. In a fourth phase, the red color was set, as it can be discerned in the stars of the frame where it overlaps the yellow and black. Then, the blue pigment was spread. It was supposed to hide the imperfections in the application of previous colors; the black outline of the figures acted as the limit,

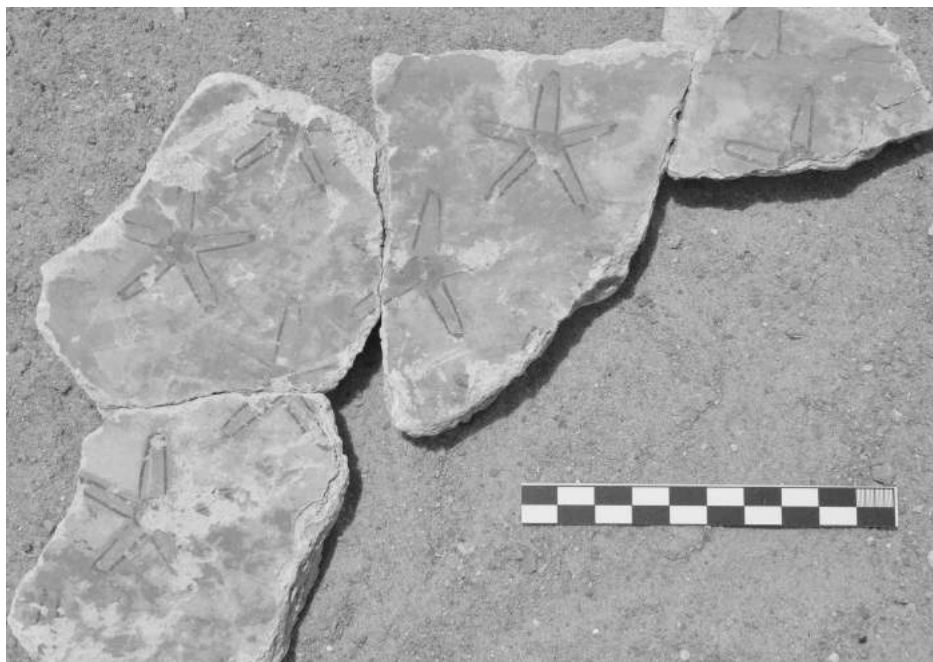


Fig. 11.5. Stars of the surrounding frame. Burial chamber. *Photo Miguel Á. Molinero Polo*

but, again, the work was done imprecisely as it was covered in some parts and not in others. Finally, using yellow pigment applied with a brush, the hieroglyphic texts were written and the stars of the constellations of the decans were painted; in the fragments fallen from the ceiling, the lost blue pigment has also drawn the text off, even if some signs can still be recognized.

Decans, Deities, and Constellations

The southern half of the main chamber's ceiling preserves the list of decans, with its associated divinities and the constellations to which the former belonged, in a relatively good state of conservation. With some exceptions, lists of decans begin in the west and include thirty-six asterisms in columns, separated by vertical strips. They derive from the lists of stars with which the twelve night hours were recognized for periods of ten days at the end of the Old Kingdom, although the chronology of their use in daily life is debated. Thus far, they are first documented on the inner lid of seventeen Heracleopolitan and Middle Kingdom coffins.²⁴

In the funerary chamber of Karakhamun, the texts are written in columns with cursive hieroglyphs; the dividing strips separating every column have not been used. Each decan is represented through its name and one or more stars that can be understood both as the image of the asterism and as a graphic determinative of the name. Neugebauer and Parker recognized that in those cases where there are two or more stars, they used to be arranged in such a way as to suggest an attempt to portray a specific constellation; nevertheless, since their number and configurations do not remain constant throughout the lists, they considered that it would be in vain to look for identifications or stellar maps.²⁵ Disregarding this opinion, other authors have tried to recognize specific asterisms, and some agreement has been reached.²⁶

The majority of decans are followed by the name or the image of a deity that is supposed to be mythologically associated with them. While in the older lists they are individualized divinities, since the Twenty-second Dynasty, new assemblages of generic lion-headed or serpent deities emerged (documented from the tomb of Osorkon II in Tanis onward). Nevertheless, TT 223 maintains the original model, as well as keeping the set of texts and general organization of the Senenmut family. As in other tombs of this group, a first section (columns one to five in TT 223) shows the deities following its decan without graphic separation. After the constellation of the boat, in which the next gods travel, a third section is created in which both groups of names are separated by a common empty space that distributes them across two registers—the mode of separation in Mentuemhat is identical, while in Senenmut and Padiamenope, it is made with a horizontal line. Finally, the decans corresponding to Orion appear, again followed directly by their respective deities, but this cannot be expounded upon for the burial chamber due to the gaps in this part of the ceiling. The repetition of this provision in several tombs shows that there must be a reason that, for the moment, has not been recognized.

The texts of the southern firmament are shown in figure 6 (see also figs. 11.7 and 11.8). There is no pretension of reproducing the exact layout of the hieroglyphic signs and their paleographic specificities. In the following description, the first number corresponds to the sequence in Karakhamun's ceiling and the number between brackets to Neugebauer and Parker's classification.²⁷ The columns are numbered from right to left to match the order of the asterisms. No comment is made in those cases where one decanal star follows directly after

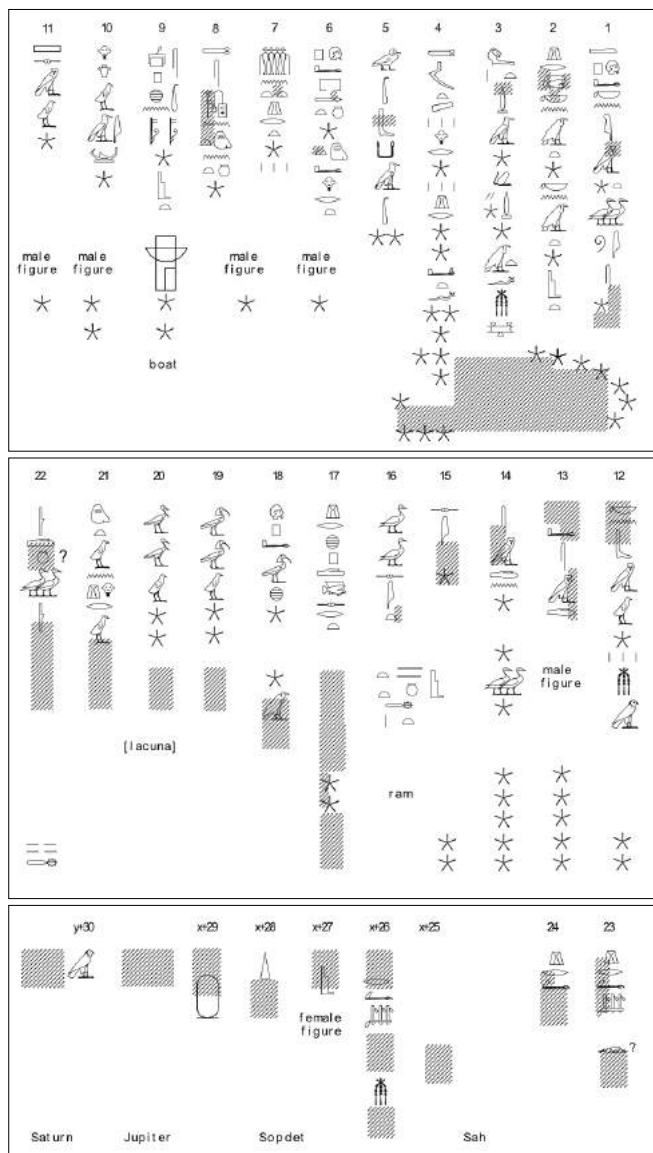


Fig. 11.6. Names of the decans and their associated deities. Burial chamber. Copied by Miguel Á. Molinero Polo



Fig. 11.7. The decans, west part. Burial chamber. *Photo Miguel Á. Molinero Polo*



Fig. 11.8. The decans, middle part. Burial chamber. *Photo Miguel Á. Molinero Polo*

another, since this layout is common in the copies of the Senenmut family. The names are not translated;²⁸ besides being proper names, most of them have a meaning, but it has been preferred here to maintain the term as close as possible to the Egyptian word.

1. (1) *tpy-^c knmt*

Deities: *hpy, jmst*

𐩔 is rather commonly misplaced in Late Period monuments of the group—here, on top of the name, a wrong sign, a feather, has been written in its place. The head of the bird is damaged, but the body is not that of a vulture, and the double tail corresponds to 𐩔. The second hieroglyph in the name of Amseti is often written differently in the texts of the family, here with 𐩔.

2. (3) *hry hpd (n) knmt*

(2) *knmt*

Deity: *3st*

In this column, it is usual that the rear decan precedes the previous one; this is commonly attributed to an oversight in the original model, to which the second star was added to correct the error, and it has been retained in this place since then.

This is the oldest copy of the main group of the Senenmut family where 𐩔 is written instead of 𐩔. It could be transliterated as *knmwt* in Late Period monuments, but in column 1 the traditional spelling with *m* is maintained.

3. (4) *h3t d3(t)*

Deity: *dw3-mwt=f*

(5) *phwy d3(t)*

Deities: *ms(w) hrw*

There is the omission of 𐩔 in (5), as in the two other Theban Late Period tombs, but in both of them, the two final 𐩔 are written, while none appears in burial chamber. Each of the two deities has been transliterated under its corresponding decan, although in the ceiling their names are written one after the other in the bottom of the column.

Names and deities are followed by four stars in other monuments, probably in correspondence with the number of the Children of Horus, but this part of the ceiling is not preserved.

4. (6) *tm3t hr(t)*

(7) *(tm3t) hr(t)*

Deity: *dw3-mwt=f*

𐩔 substitutes here for 𐩔, but it is common in the family to write different signs as the determinative of this word. In other tombs there are four stars below the names, but here the number is higher.

5. (8) *wš3tj*(9) *bk3tj*

The paleography of the sign *wš3* is curious in that the bird seems to have a reptile in its beak.

The gods Duamutef and Hapy, as well as one star for every decan, have been omitted by the artists of Karakhamun, compared to other monuments.

6. (10) *tpy-^chnt[t]*(11) *hntt hrt*

The following features are notable: the unusual writing of *hntt* in the name of the tenth decan and the absence of a stellar sign as the determinative in the eleventh decan.

The god Horus and the constellation below, commonly built of three stars, have been omitted.

7. (12) *hntt hrt*

Deity: male figure

The deity is written with the logogram. In the Ramesseum's ceiling (Subgroup A) and in other later documents, it is a male god with a solar disk on his head that can be identified as Horus. In Senenmut and Padiamenope, it clearly has the ears of Seth and has been recognized as such by Neugebauer and Parker. But the figure in Karakhamun has no ears and his face seems to show the features of an ape. The star under his feet, as well as the stars under the next four deities, are not present on other ceilings; they must make up part of the constellation of the boat.

8. (13) *tms n hnt(t)*

Deity: male figure

The unusual writing of *hntt* should be noted. The logogram of the god is identified as Horus in other monuments; here, indeed, it seems falcon-headed.

9. (14) *s3ptj hnwy*

Deities: *3st*, *nbt-hwt*

The signs of Nephthys' name, oversized in relationship with the others' hieroglyphs, are placed at the same height over the constellation of the boat as the large logograms of the four male deities around them. This pattern existed since Senenmut's ceiling.

10. (15) *hry-jb wj3*

Deity: male figure

The loss of the face precludes recognition of the god represented. It is Seth in Senenmut and Padiamenope and Horus in other tombs.

11. (16) *šsmw*



Deity: male figure

In previous monuments, *sšmw* is written, probably meaning the “guides,” but from TT 223 on, the order of the two first signs has been inverted.

The total loss of the face makes an identification of the god impossible. It has the ears of Seth in Senenmut and Padiamenope.

12. (17) *knmw*

Deity: *msw hrw*

Although rather lost, it is possible to recognize that the scribe has written a  in place of the proper .


13. (18) [*tpy*]-^c *smd*

Deity: male figure

There are no determinatives in the name of the decan. The god is oversized and his face is damaged. In the logographic writing of other monuments, it is identified as a falcon. The number of stars differs greatly in every document; in this tomb, they are clearly five.

14. (19) *smd*

Deity: *hpy*

The  in the name must be a misunderstanding of the half moon determinative in other spellings. In the preceding decan, whose name also includes the word *smd*, the determinatives were not written. Besides the two stars associated with Hapy, there are five more at the bottom of this column, clearly preceding the ram constellation and not forming part of it.

15. (20) *sj[t]*

Deity: *šst*

Understanding the name implies a problem, since if it is understood as a sheep and feminine—indeed the word ends with *t*—the image of the animal, with horns and testicles—and therefore male—is in contradiction to it.

The representation of the asterism that reproduces the name of the constellation is over the head of the ram. This is scarcely visible, since the whole image is badly lost. Two stars under the animal seem to be related to this decan.

16. (21) *sšwy sjt*

If the stellar determinative was written, it is now lost in a lacuna. Nevertheless, it seems that there is not enough space for the name of the associated deity, who is Duamutef in the best-preserved documents.

The cluster commonly related with *sjt* has been moved to this column, in the place where the god would be expected, clearly due to a lack of space in its proper column. Instead of three strokes, only two are written, becoming a 2-*nwt ht*, a second body (of stars).

17. (22) *hry hp(d) srt*

[lacuna... Deity: Qebhsenuf (?)]

In columns fifteen and sixteen, the substantive “sheep” is spelled *syt*, but in this one it is written *srt*. The stellar determinative is neglected. The name of Qebhsenuf, appearing in parallel monuments, seems to be read through a fragmentary *qbh* sign visible to the right of 2-*nwt ht*. Two of the usual three or four stars of the constellation can also be recognized in the border of the lacuna.

18. (23) *tpy-^c 3h(wy)*

Deity: Duamutef.

The god is readable through two signs, *dw3* and *mwt*, in a block joined to the ceiling in the 2012 season. The correspondence to this column or to the next one, whose deity is also Duamutef, is not completely certain as the name seems to be written between both of them. The bad state of preservation of the area does not help precise reconstruction.

19. (24) *3hwy*

[lacuna]

Duamutef is also the god in monuments with a complete column of text.

20. (25) *b3wy*



[lacuna]

Hapy and Imsety are related deities in better preserved sources.

In other Theban Late Period tombs, this column commonly shows a 4-*nwt ht*, a fourth body (of stars). The lacuna makes it impossible to determine if there was a reference to a cluster in this place and, if there were, if it was the third one, not documented elsewhere in the ceiling. In fact, the fourth is written further on (see below, in column 22).

21. (26) *hntw hr(w)*(27) *hntw hr(w)*

[lacuna]



The  under  is superfluous. Determinatives of the names and any mention of the Children of Horus, if they were written, are now lost.

22. (28) *kd*

[lacuna]

(29) *s3wj k[d]*

[lacuna]

The damaged rounded sign in *kd* is probably  and not ; both are attested in parallel documents. Usually, Hapy and Qebhsenuf are the respective deities.

It is below this column, in fact under the next deity's boat, that the reference to 4-*nw ht*, the fourth cluster (of stars), is written with small hieroglyphic

signs. It is an unusual placement, understandable only by an obvious lack of space: the lacuna under columns 20–22 must have been completely occupied by figures, stars, and texts, now lost.

After these decans, the group of those belonging to the constellation of Sah begins. The main monuments of the Senenmut family show the common features of presenting these stars in disorder, of omitting decan (34), *rmn s3h*, of repeating the name of (33), *hry rmn s3h*, and, in its second occurrence, of presenting it associated with Osiris; this fact makes it possible to deduce that this repeated name is occupying the place that in other subgroups is taken by *s3h*; (35), which is not present in examples belonging to this family and, therefore, absent from Karakhamun's ceiling.²⁹

23. (33) *hry rmn s3h*

Deity: *wsjr* (?)

The star determinative is absent. In the border of the lacuna, a fragment of a sign is visible. Because of its distance from the previous one, it could be the name of the associated deity. In Senenmut, Mentuemhat, and Padiamenope, the first *hry rmn s3h* is followed by *msw hrw*, but here it is surely not 𓆎 . If it were an eye—and it seems so—it would be the name *wsjr*, Osiris, the deity whose identification with Sah is attested since the Pyramid Texts of the Old Kingdom. The consequence would be that in TT 223, the decan embodying the constellation represented below would occupy the first place in the list of its stars, and not the second one as is usual.

24. (33) *hry rmn [s3h]*

[lacuna]

The lost deities would be the Children of Horus if they changed their place with Osiris as suggested in the comment on the previous column.

This asterism is followed by a lacuna, large enough to have contained two columns. The first one would be a broad column with stars drawing the actual constellation of *s3h*; indeed, a blank space on top of the column is preserved that confirms this content. It is present in all the documents of Senenmut's family.

x+25 (31 ?) [lacuna]

The second column should be the name of decan (31), 𓆎rt , and its associated *jrt hrw*, Eye of Horus. The lower part of one or two signs (star determinatives?) is preserved at the bottom of the column, but is not clearly legible. There was probably no other column lost in the gap.

x+26 (32) [*h*]ry rmn *s3h*

msw [hrw]

x+27 Deity: *3st*

x+28 (36) *spd[t]*

The last decan in the Senenmut family is always written in two columns, the first with the name of the deity, *ꜣst*—probably the base of the \mathfrak{J} is preserved here, followed by a large determinative of the goddess—preceding the name of the asterism, *spdt*, in the second.

This reading of the detailed description of the terms preserved in the ceiling of the burial chamber provides confirmation that the list of decans is complete, with two exceptions. If the absence of (31) is not taken into account, since it does not appear in any monument of the Senenmut family, the only one missing is decan (30), *hꜣw*, with its deities, the Children of Horus, and a cluster of stars associated with it that appear in the nearest Late Period tombs. Parts of the ceiling below its expected location are lost, thus the remote possibility that it was in that zone, below a previous decan, cannot be completely dismissed, even if in parallel monuments it occupies its own column. A possible explanation for this absence is suggested further on, in the conclusions to this chapter.

The stars selected as decans could form part of larger constellations which are represented in the lower part of the register in some monuments. Usually, the dividing strips make definite the relation between individual decanal bodies and their corresponding constellation. In the chamber of TT 223, where the names are written without graphic separation, it is difficult to distinguish to which constellation the stars represented in the intermediate spaces should be attributed. A reading supported by the nearest Late Period ceilings has been followed where it has been possible, and the doubts are explained in the text.

These representations are frequently accompanied by clusters, some of them preserved in Karakhamun's tomb, although the portion of the ceiling where they should be is badly damaged.

Columns 1 and 2 in the burial chamber present in their base a set of stars common to both, the Kenemet constellation. The seven preserved signs show an arrangement in an arc, while the usual pattern in other monuments is composed of around thirteen stars disposed in two oblique lines.

The location of Boat in Karakhamun's ceiling differs slightly from the chronologically nearest examples. Normally it takes up columns 7 to 13, but here it expands to column 14—if the stars of the last two columns belong to it—probably emphasizing the constellation by drawing it larger. Its proper limits can be recognized by comparison with Mentuemhat and Padiamenope's ceilings, in which two dividing strips separate it from the neighboring asterisms. In TT 223, the number of stars around the vessel is slightly higher, showing two lines of dots under it without parallels in other monuments. Most significantly, the stars inside the boat are more numerous, because there is an additional one below every decanal divinity. The bigger size given to the boat has also absorbed the space that should have been devoted to the deities linked to the nearest decans; thus, those of the preceding two columns have been removed. The two preserved faces of the deities over the boat, of monkey and hawk, could suggest a transformation of the model for TT 223, where the usual order of presentation of

gods—Seth, Horus, Seth, Seth—seems to have been substituted by the Four Children of Horus. The connection between these and a boat that sails across the sky is well established both iconographically—for instance, four oars accompany their figures in BD 148 vignette—and in funerary texts from a very early date:

O, Hapi, Imseti, Duamutef, and Qebehsenuef! Fetch for this Pepi that Khnum-made boat that is in the Winding Canal. (1228a–c, Pyramid Text 522)³⁰

The existence of a Smed constellation has been proposed.³¹ In Senenmut, it should be represented by the long row of stars under the first of its decans, *tpy-ꜥ smd*. In TT 223, both decans with this name (18 and 19) show five stars each, in columns 13 and 14; this could become a consistent support for the proposal. However, in the chronologically next two Theban astronomical ceilings, the ten asterisms have been advanced one column and are integrated in the boat constellation.

Two stars under the head of the Sheep/Ram constellation are preserved and it can be stated that those over his/her back were also present, since at least one or two are visible in one block identified during the 2012 restoration season.

The Khentet constellation was represented in a small size—indeed, in the space available between the figures of Sheep/Ram and the nearby Boat, already painted when the stars were “written” —and has been partially reconstructed with fallen

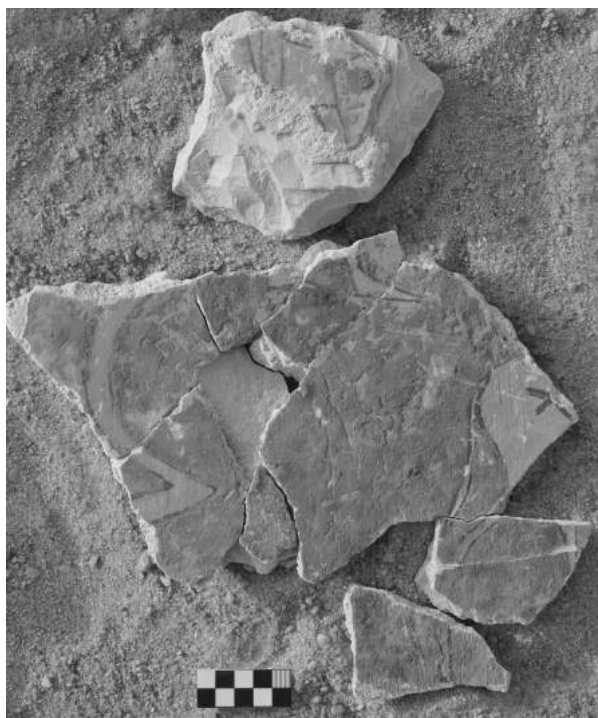


Fig. 11.9. Stars of the Khentet constellation and surrounding figures. Burial chamber. Photo Miguel Á. Molinero Polo

fragments. Its stars were arranged in an oblique line between the prow of Boat and the hindquarters of Sheep/Ram, as well as in a horizontal line of at least three stars over the oblique line, and a group below it, partly lost (fig. 11.9). This is the only constellation present in columns 21 and 22 of other Twenty-fifth to Twenty-sixth Dynasty Theban ceilings, since the oval cluster—called 3-*nwt ht* in Senenmut—is absent in published documents of this period. It probably wasn't in TT 223 either; the lacuna over the constellation does not allow to affirm it for sure, but his name, as 4-*nwt ht*, under Sah's boat allows to suppose that there was no place for the image elsewhere. The name is slightly misplaced because of the large size of the figures, but the idea of the cluster under Khentet constellation, similar to other Late Period tombs, is preserved.

Sah (fig. 11.10) was a part of the constellation called “Orion” in western astronomy from ancient Greece onward. It is represented by its usual image, a male figure striding on a small boat, facing backwards and, therefore, looking to the west, to his inexorable destiny. His left hand holds the *w3s*-scepter—it has been recognized among the fragments found in the debris—and his right hand holds an *ʕnh* sign. His stellar components are represented with black ink over the outer line of his body. Only the star on top of the boat's prow appears—the stern lacks its star, as can be seen in the 2012 reconstruction work—keeping an iconographical and symbolical parallelism with Isis-Sopdet's vessel.



Fig. 11.10. Constellations of Sah and Isis-Sopdet. Burial chamber. Photo Katherine Blakeney, SACP

Isis-Sopdet is the constellation of *Canis Maior* and, by metonymy, a star that was part of it, *spd* (Old Kingdom)/*spdt(y)* (Middle Kingdom onward), Sirius,³² meaningful for ancient Egyptians due to its importance as a calendar marker. In the ceiling of TT 223, she is shown with slight differences from her traditional image. If she bore a solar disk, it is not conserved. This would rest on a very complex and symbolic headdress, composed of two *šwtj*-feathers and complemented by a third rear *mꜣt*-feather emerging from a trapezoid crown. The body does not differ from other representations: left hand holding an *ꜥnh* sign and a *wꜣd*-scepter, raised right arm with the hand toward the headdress, a tight-fitting dress to her feet. The boat shows a star over the prow, absent in other tombs, surely mirroring the one over the front of Sah's vessel. It does not float over the *mꜣt* sign as in previous monuments, but over the same base line as the surrounding astral figures.

'Triangle Decans' and Planets

The Middle Kingdom diagonal clocks had a special set of twelve asterisms for the epagomenal days, called 'triangle decans' by some authors. Since the New Kingdom, they are found in reduced number, following the primary thirty-six decans, with some often replaced by planets.

In Middle Kingdom funerary texts, the five planets visible to the naked eye are mentioned, although some references indicate that at an earlier date the Egyptians had already differentiated these 'moving stars' from the fixed ones—Saturn and Venus appear, for example, in the Pyramid Texts. Ignorance about the generic term by which they were characterized, if one existed, makes our understanding of ancient knowledge about them difficult.³³ It is in Senenmut's tomb that they are first represented. However, there it lists only four, two of the three already known outer planets immediately after Sopdet, followed by five epagomenal decans, and the two inner ones at the end. As for the main thirty-six decanal asterisms, both the names of triangle decans and of planets used to be accompanied by stars, divinities, and figures. On later monuments, planets may be listed independently of the decans, with shortened or changed names or only represented as a figure, but this is not the case in TT 223.

It can be deduced that the area dedicated to triangle decans and planets was divided into two registers. The upper one was reserved for the names of the asterisms, written in cursive hieroglyphs, without a dividing strip, and in the lower one, their corresponding figures were represented. Only some traces of color belonging to these have been preserved, and it is through this evidence that the triangle decans and planets present on the ceiling can be deduced. The first two figures were male, on individual boats, and of a similar size to the last two decans, while the next figures are smaller and, now, almost lost.

The planet Mars seems to be absent, as in the other monuments of Senenmut's family.

The first preserved figure after Isis-Sopdet shows a straight right arm and two stars on each leg. In other late monuments, these are the features of *ḥrw tꜣš(w) tꜣwy*,

Horus who joins the Two Lands, Jupiter, even if there are no traces of his name in Karakhamun's chamber.

In front of this figure, just behind the preceding decan-goddess, the lower part of a cartouche is visible; no signs can be seen inside. In the tomb of Senenmut, the falcon-headed images of the two outer planets are preceded by two serekhs, one for each, with the words *wsrt k3w*—the Horus name of Hatshepsut, the reigning 'king' when the ceiling was painted. Here, the cartouche of Karakhamun's ceiling occupies the place of one of them. If the artists had maintained the custom of the Eighteenth Dynasty and it had been inscribed, it could have provided a date for the decoration of TT 223. Unluckily, it is empty.

Of the second figure, only the legs and the left hand are still visible (fig. 11). The stars on the former identify him with Saturn. It is remarkable that the representation of the planet does not show any stars in Senenmut, but four on every leg in TT 223, five in Mentuemhat, and six in Padiamenope. The first sign of its name is also legible over the figure, *hrw*. It does not follow the pattern of the oldest tomb, where *mwt k3 (n) pt* is written,³⁴ but that of the later one, *hrw k3 (n) pt*, Horus the bull of the sky.

While the size of the space devoted to triangle decans and inner planets is usually similar to that of the two outer planets, in TT 223's burial chamber it does not exceed the length of one boat of the latter. Furthermore, besides its

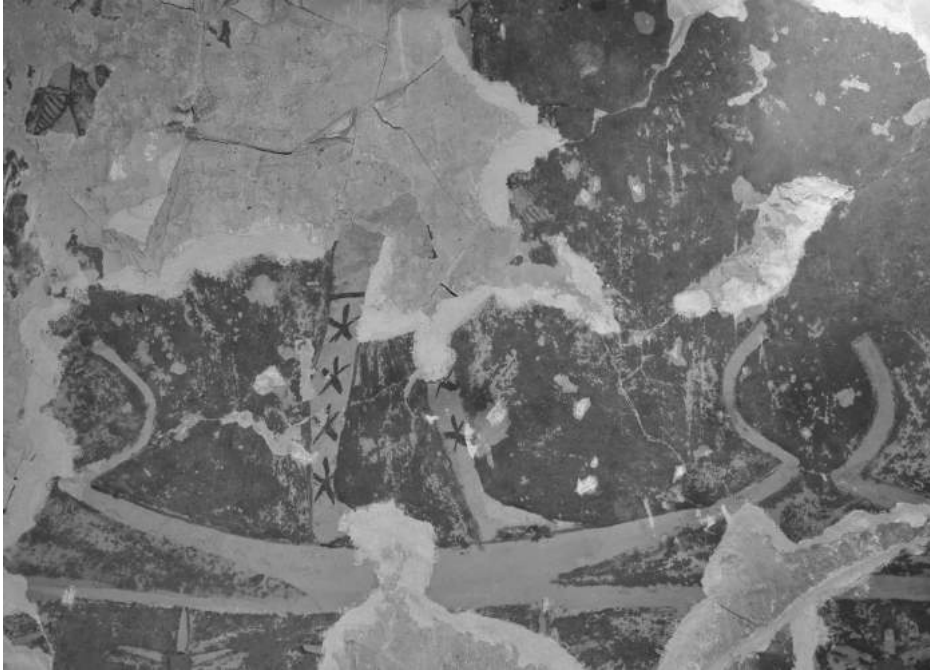


Fig. 11.11. Planet Saturn. Burial chamber. Photo Miguel Á. Molinero Polo

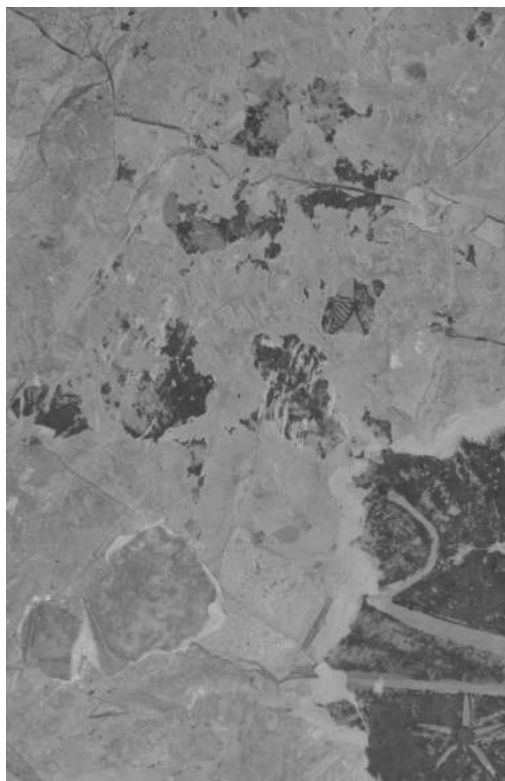


Fig. 11.12. Remains of the triangular decans and inner planets. Burial chamber. Photo Miguel Á. Molinero Polo

two usual figures (turtles and heron), two new ones were added; the four acquired a visual importance not present in other ceilings. Both premises—restricted space and four images—caused designers to redistribute the elements of this part of the sky, differently from the coeval known tombs (fig. 11.12).

In the lower part of the register, a yellow spot behind Saturn's boat could correspond to the front left leg of the upper of two turtles, while traces of a rounded black silhouette could have made part of the lower one's shell. In the 2012 season the two legs of a bird were recovered; both the location—at the end of the row—and identification are secure. Therefore, the bottom appears to be fully occupied by the two turtles representing the decan *štwy* and the heron for the planet *d3*, Venus. Their images, therefore, exceed the columns that would correspond to them if they were placed in the space allotted to each asterism by dividing strips, absent in this ceiling.

Above them, disperse color remains of two divine male figures, as well as the feet and scepter of the eastern one and kilt and body of the western one are distinguished. The two were probably similar, but not enough is preserved of

them to confirm it. They might have a height analogous to the figures that occupy the constellation of the Boat, where an identical emphasizing procedure for the divinities has been used. Two associated deities in this area are represented with the hieroglyph of a standing god with falcon's head in the documents of Senenmut's family: those for the triangle decan *ḥšs* and for the planet *sbḡ*, Mercury. Therefore, the figures in Karakhamun's chamber could correspond to them. The location of the one above Venus makes it possible. On the other hand, it is problematic that the figure corresponding to *ḥšs*'s god is very close to Saturn, not leaving space for the three columns of decans that should precede it. Therefore, either the whole column of *ḥšs* has been misplaced, or other interpretations would be possible: that it was the determinative of the name of Saturn—but in the decans' area these high figures are associated deities, not asterisms—or that other triangle decans were related to this specific divine figure.

Of the list of names of the upper part, only some traces can be recognized—not sufficient to read any sign, but enough to deduce, at least, the presence of the texts. In the available space, the seven columns of names could fit, if their widths were

similar to those of the last decans, narrower and with less separation between them than for the first ones. Only one hieroglyphic sign (𓂏), Osiris's determinative as associated divinity to Venus, has been identified in the debris' fragments and relocated in its original place.

Northern Constellations and Their Associated Deities

The northern half of astronomical ceilings was reserved for the boreal constellations that crowd the central part of the register. They are represented as a dense group of figures around *mshtyw*, the Plough. Most of them bear names and are documented in several types of sources, but as their arrangement varies considerably, their identification with actual asterisms is subject to debate.³⁵

They are flanked by a row of deities on each side, who may have disks on their heads and stars on their bodies. Neugebauer and Parker have suggested that they were the protectors of the days and festivities of a lunar month, related to the twelve circles that appear on the ceiling of Senenmut. However, they were divided into twenty-four parts, which creates a difficulty with their relation to the months.³⁶ If this interpretation were to be accepted, these figures would have no direct connection to the northern constellations; later monuments, by omitting the supposed lunar circles while retaining the 'lunar-day' deities, created an association which has no astronomical or calendrical basis.³⁷ In the Ptolemaic tomb-chapel of Petosiris, a text identifies them with the circumpolar stars, but this can be a late development. The figures and names tend to group themselves in the same families as the decans and the constellations.

In TT 223, seven male deities are represented to the west of the boreal asterisms (figs. 11.13 and 11.14). This is the usual number in the monuments of the main group of the Senenmut family. In subgroups A and B there are ten or eleven. The names are above them, slightly ahead of their image in Senenmut and directly

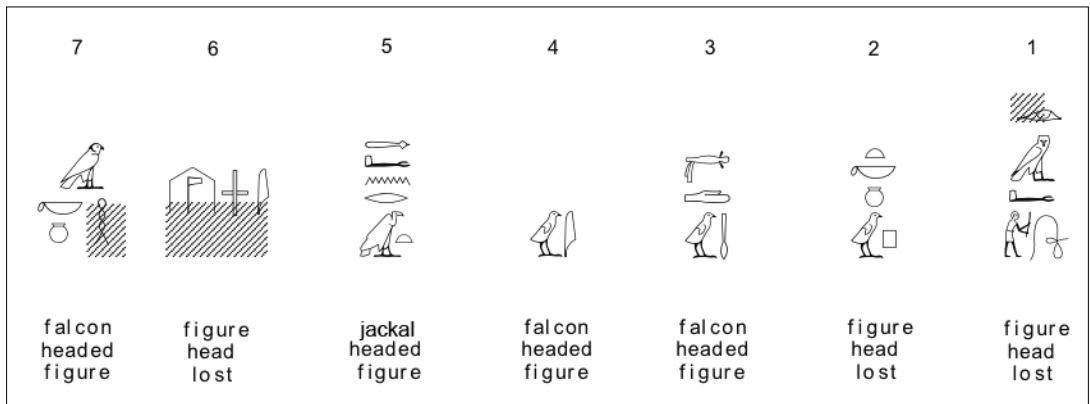


Fig. 11.13. Names of western associated deities. Northern firmament. West side. Burial chamber.
Copied by Miguel Á. Molinero Polo



Fig. 11.14. Western associated deities. Northern sky. West part. Burial chamber. *Photo Katherine Blakeney, SACP*

over their heads in Padiamenope (Mentuemhat has lost this part of the ceiling). In Karakhamun's main chamber, only the last two bear the identification legends directly above them, and the rest are ahead; an explanation, adopting a non-symbolic point of view, would be that the draftsman lacked space when arriving at the last deities. Some heads are lost in TT 223, but at least two do not bear solar disks; no rule can be discerned in this respect, since all seven have one in Senenmut and only the westernmost does not have one in Mentuemhat. The same lack of a chronological evolutionary pattern is discernible with other iconographic features of this group of figures. The crossed kilts of Karakhamun are common with Padiamenope, but the former's deities three to seven have the hand in a position as if holding a nonexistent scepter, closer to the Eighteenth Dynasty depiction.

The order of the figures, below, runs from the center to the outside, following the direction pointed by the deities themselves.

1. $[j]r(w) m \epsilon w3$

The lower part, preserved, does not differ from the standard: the right arm positioned along the body and the left hand holding a club.

The child-scale figure before him in Senenmut's tomb is no longer represented, as in the other Late Period tombs.

2. *tknw*

Commonly, this figure is devoid of arms—confirmed here at least for one side, the other is lost—and dressed in a *shendyt*-kilt. The □ in front of the *w* is superfluous, perhaps a mistake instead of the stroke written in other monuments.

3. *šd hrw*

An irregular falcon-headed figure, since in related documents it has a human head. The bent right hand is common with Padiamenope but differs from Senenmut's model.

4. *jw*

The name of the deity is *nhs* in other monuments, here reduced to two phonetic hieroglyphs; the confusion of the scribe is confirmed by the wrong height at which the signs are written, lower than the other legends. Also, it is falcon-headed and without a solar disk, which differentiates it from the rest of the documents, in which the head is human and bears a disk.

5. *ʿ3 nr*

A jackal-headed figure with a solar disk.

6. *jmy zh-ntr*

The head is lost; in the older tombs, it is similar to Seth, but there are changes in later monuments.

7. *hrw [h]knw*

A falcon-headed figure without a solar disk.

The boreal constellations do not follow the model of Senenmut, but rather the more compact version of Amenhotep III's water clock and the Ramesseum's ceiling, which is better preserved than the former. Most of the documents belonging to the Senenmut family, independently of their subgroup, follow this second pattern. Its main difference in respect to the older one is the placement of Lion and Crocodile under Anu and the removal of the constellations of the crocodile *hk3w*, of the human figure without name usually in front of the crocodile *htp-rdwy*, and of the infrequent Bird. In TT 223, traces of all the constellations of this model have been identified, except for one (fig. 11.15). The following description proceeds from the upper left asterisms.

The phonetic signs for writing the name of *s3q* are of an identical size to the crocodile itself with its curved tail, so that this one acts both as a determinative and as the figure of the constellation. It is inverted in relation to previous monuments, since in TT 223, the hieroglyphs are read from right to left.


There is no separation between this asterism and the signs of the name of *srqt*, with the female figure of the constellation in a horizontal position and her face



Fig. 11.15. Northern constellations. Burial chamber. Photo Katherine Blakeney, SACP

turned to the central scene. Her body presents the usual appearance, with the solar disk on her head and both hands in front holding something that cannot be seen in the burial chamber because of a lacuna.

The central part of *mshtyw*, the definitively identified constellation of the Big Dipper, is preserved, including a part of his name. It adopts the form of an oval with an animal head on one side, whose horns are the only elements visible in Karakhamun's ceiling, and an angular shape on the other side, here lost. One pair of short and thin legs, nearer to those of an insect than to those of a mammal, is preserved. This kind of limb was present in astronomical representations of the Eighteenth Dynasty, but was missing from those of Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasty temples, and the Valley of the Kings tombs, where the whole figure is substituted by a bull in a naturalistic image. A row of black stars is drawn on his back.

Anu is spearing the Big Dipper. The first sign of his name, , is legible. His falcon head is missing, but the sun disk, not present in all cases, is still recognizable.

The straight crocodile tail and leg under him must correspond to the composite figure of Lion, even if neither the head nor the name are preserved to confirm it. No stars are painted on his body. The identification depends on the fact that in the lost portion of ceiling beneath him, there is enough space for another figure, and in monuments following the same model, it is the crocodile *htp rdwy* who is represented below. In consequence, the upper representation must be of Lion.

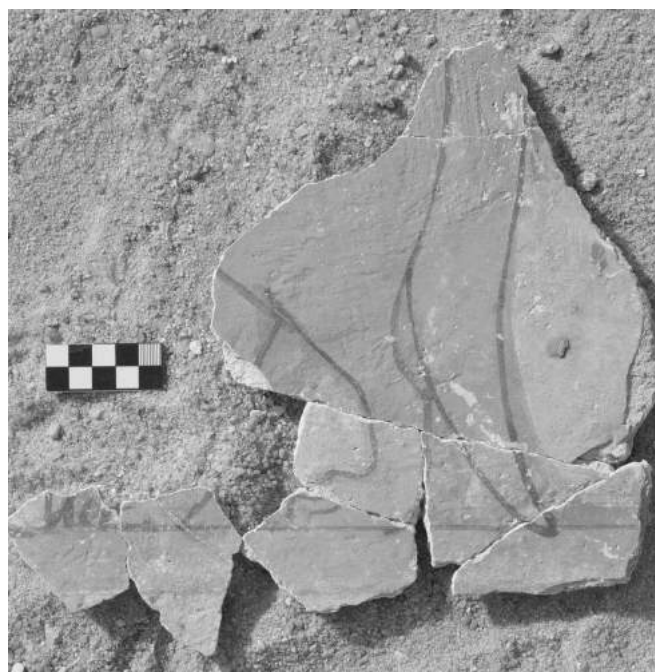


Fig. 11.16. Fragments of Aset, the Hippopotamus constellation. Burial chamber. Photo Miguel Á. Molinero Polo

To the east of this group, tiny traces of color identify a line of dots, a common feature on other documents of the family, where it joins Serqet and Meskhetyu to the soil in front of *3st-d3mt*. One small fragment shows that the straight line known from other monuments was also present to the west of the dots. To its right, the figure of the she-hippopotamus *3st* can be reconstructed, since a part of her body, legs, and tail have been found in the debris (fig. 11.16). No crocodile is over her back; this would normally be the *d3mt* that forms part of the name of the constellation, but this absence is common in representations based on the Amenhotep III/Ramesses II pattern. Nothing is preserved of the mooring post or of the small vertical saurian on which Aset leans in other monuments.

A second row of deities was painted on the eastern half of the register. Fragments recovered in the debris have allowed the identification of parts of the bodies and the legs of eight deities—the total number expected following other Late Period exemplars.

According to a standard that is met in all known astronomical monuments of the family, behind the constellation of the she-hippopotamus, the row of deities is led by Isis, and, in fact, a female body dressed in a long skirt has been identified in the debris and repositioned in her place. The goddess is customarily followed by the Children of Horus. Their four figures can be seen in Senenmut's ceiling, but in Late Period tombs the first name is moved over the goddess and one of the gods disappears. In TT 223, Hapy's name has been recovered and its place identified over the second deity, the first male one in the row, from which it can be deduced that Amsety's name

must have been written over Isis, although so far it has not been recognized among the fragments. Two other male figures follow Hapy. All three are represented in the same position: arms extended on both sides of the body, right hand seen by the side of the palm, left hand by the outside. The fifth figure of the procession is lost; one of the two pairs of male legs reconstructed with fragments recovered in the debris and belonging to this part of the ceiling should correspond to it.

The following three figures show differences compared with other Late Period ceilings (fig. 17). Where it would be expected to find the figure with attributes of both sexes of *jr(w)-n dt=f*—breasts and long female skirt as well as a curved beard—male legs and a short kilt are preserved. No arms are visible, which would fit with one of the most remarkable features of this deity: his absence of arms. Behind him, a regular figure of *jr(w) rn=f ds=f* follows: male, with joined hands and arms in front of him, and a headdress made of a solar disk surrounded by two ostrich feathers—the horizontal line below one of them is preserved. It is not possible to confirm if he holds something in his hands. A last male figure, *hq3w*, should end the row, to whom the second pair of reconstructed male legs should belong. The only element that can be attributed to him with certainty is a very long straight knife in his hands, absent from other tombs' ceilings.



Fig. 11.17. Fragments of the sixth, seventh, and eighth deities. East part of the northern sky. Burial chamber. Photo Miguel Á. Molinero Polo

A sad circumstance is that, for the moment, feet and legs have been found for all figures, but a lesser number of bodies and only one head. A possible explanation is that the missing heads and a part of the adjacent bodies had already been removed before the ceiling collapsed. This possibility is supported by the fact that several assistant deities of the West are surrounded by incisions produced in an evident attempt at plundering and that several of these divinities lack their heads.

The differences in eastern sixth and eighth assistant deities as compared to other Late Period ceilings, as well as other minor changes in the layout of the western ones, are not complete novelties. They have parallels in the earlier sarcophagus of Merenptah, reused by Psusennes in Tanis and the later Ptolemaic coffin of Hornedjitef.³⁸ Probably the most important feature of this approach is that TT 223 shares another element absent from documents of the same family with both of them: the presence of Nut with outstretched arms in the central axis. Certainly, it cannot be a mere coincidence, and the existence of a common source for these images must be considered.

Conclusions

The tomb of Karakhamun has preserved one of the most complete lists of decans bequeathed by ancient Egypt and a remarkable row of 'lunar' deities to the west of the boreal constellations. Nevertheless, the most outstanding feature of its astronomical ceiling is the image of Nut; it is an original addition that deepens the symbolic meaning of the scene and of the whole chamber. The incorporation of this figure induces us to think of a tendency during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty to reinforce the mythological role of Nut. Of the whole set of late stelae, only those made for the powerful Theban priests and their families of this period represent the sky goddess as the frame that limits the figurative field.³⁹

In understanding some of the graphical and iconic particularities of the ceiling, it should be taken into account that the inclusion of the goddess—absent in previous family models—has reduced the space available for other figures and texts, provoking some adjustments and omissions.

The motifs are not carved, but painted, so the texts are written using the cursive version of hieroglyphic script, as in funerary papyri. Also, the dividing strips characteristic of sculpted documents have not been marked.

The process of drawing itself has resulted in consequences for the distribution of the texts. First, Nut, the boats, and the larger figures were sketched, creating a general frame. Names were written later, subject to the space left by the already depicted figures. This conditioned their inclusion on the ceiling, as can be recognized by some irregularities in the final design.

The presence of a previously painted Boat constellation has forced the artist to leave a separation space between columns 11 and 12; this space has no specific function but to allow the latter column to be copied straight between the boat and the large masculine figure.

Between the Sheep/Ram constellation and Orion, a figure with a black silhouette appears. His identity is not known, since the text over it is lost in a lacuna. In other monuments, the only similar figure in this position is the logogram for the name of the god in the clause ‘Children of Horus,’ the deities associated with the decan *ḥ3w*. But this decan does not occupy its place in the list, as has already been mentioned above. Thus, it is possible to deduce that when the names were written, in the last step of the painting process, the divinity previously painted was left behind from the column corresponding to its decan and, therefore, this one was not copied in its correct place. If, nevertheless, the artist managed somehow to include it—for example, over the logogram of the deity, written with smaller hieroglyphs—it cannot be confirmed since this part of the ceiling is lost.

The various stages in the process of drawing may also explain some of the most striking differences in the ceiling compared to the family models: the displacement of composite asterisms with respect to the corresponding decans. The Boat constellation is expanded to an additional column if the rear ten stars have to be part of it. These last ones may have been considered by ancient Egyptians as an independent constellation, *Semed*, which is represented in TT 223 in a disposition and place slightly different from preceding and later tombs (fig. 11.18). Also, the cluster of

Fig. 11.18. Boat constellation in the burial chamber of the tomb of Karakhamun. Photo Miguel Á. Molinero Polo



column 15 has slipped to 16. The number of displacements in the ceiling shows that astronomical precision was not a primary motivation of its authors, at least not in the final stage of its elaboration.

In the spelling of the names of the asterisms, the star determinative that should follow them is absent in a large number of cases. It is probable that the reason is the lack of space, since this happens in areas where other cuts have been performed, such as removing the name of the associated deity (for example, columns 6, 13, and 16).

Some graphical changes appearing in TT 223 became the norm for subsequent copies, as in the case of *mwt* in *knmt* (column 2) that should be read as *knmwt* from this generation on, or *šsmw* with the inverted order of the first two signs (column 11). Other changes can be due to simple scribe neglect. Thus, under column 15, the third cluster of stars is commonly placed; and in it, the name of the goddess Isis and the reference to the asterism are written in two vertical lines of text. Here, however, because of problems of space, it has slipped into the next column and the scribe has tried to arrange the signs horizontally. As a result, he has misplaced the \triangle of the name of the deity, writing it at the left end of the line with the feminine ending of *ht*.

Chronologically, the ceiling of Karakhamun's main burial chamber is the third preserved copy of the main stream of the Senenmut family. This fact can be misleading, since more than six centuries had passed since the previous one, and around thirty astronomical monuments are known from this long intervening period, some of them variants of the former model. Until the Twentieth Dynasty, the most remarkable feature of the copies of this family, from which later groups differ, was that the figures of all registers stand in the same upward direction.

A. Spalinger proposed that the astronomical ceiling of the Ramesseum might represent an extended design of a clepsydra.⁴⁰ J.A. Belmonte and M. Shaltout have applied this idea to Senenmut's ceiling and have argued that it is a copy of a papyrus draft of a celestial diagram that would have existed previously and was used in water clocks.⁴¹ Indeed, it is commonly accepted that the Karnak example, even if dated to the reign of Amenhotep III, used astronomical references that were out of use at that time and, therefore, it is supposed to be a copy of an older object designed in the second half of the sixteenth century BC.⁴² Its outer decoration displays three superimposed registers, just as on the Ramesseum ceiling. It is the lower of these, showing the king in several scenes of offering to the gods of the months, which disappears in monuments with only two registers. Consequently, a three-register master copy for the Senenmut family seems possible, or at least it can be said that such a pattern existed long before this tomb was decorated, as the Middle Kingdom board of Heny's coffin side—the oldest representation of constellations known so far—was also divided into three registers, even if it was impossible to recognize their contents.⁴³

It is in the tomb of Sethy I that the model with two registers oriented in opposite directions was introduced. But it is much later, in the middle of the Twentieth Dynasty, that it was imposed on the Senenmut family, creating the Subgroup B.

Karakhamun's ceiling is the first of the main stream where the registers on the opposite sides are oriented with the heads of the figures to the center—with Nut in the middle—a disposition that was maintained for later copies besides the original one. The latter was still used in the Ptolemaic period for clepsydrae and for the ceiling known as Hermopolis B.

In the burial chamber of Karakhamun, the number and disposition of the stars associated with each decan and its deity/ies differ in many cases from those already known. This variability, related not only to the space created in the course of copying, but also to the transmission process of the models, hinders the identification of represented asterisms with actual ones and raises the difficulty of using these documents as astronomical sources.

The artists—or the priests charged with creating the models—had a certain freedom to play with particular iconographical features. Besides the addition of the figure of Nut, a remarkable example are the gods associated with the decans of the boat constellation. They have been reproduced on a lower level than is usual, placing them almost inside the boat, and their personality may have been changed, probably to transform them into the Children of Horus who, following funerary texts, row the deceased to the firmament in a heavenly vessel.

A comparison of the preserved figures with other monuments demonstrates continual small changes. Whether this is due to gradual transformation of the models or to artistic decisions at the moment of decoration is not possible to determine without further study of the whole family's documents.

In common with the tomb of Senenmut, the boat of Sah has only one star over the prow, but this differs from Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasty images, where there are three asterisms on the vessel itself. By contrast, the male figure departs from the former tomb's god and is nearer to the later ones, as the silhouette of his body is covered by stars which are missing in Senenmut.

The headdress of Sopdet is identical to the one represented in Eighteenth Dynasty documents and differs from those of chronologically nearer Theban Late Period tombs, in which the straight feathers have been substituted by two || signs and the trapezoid crown shows internal drawings.

Whether these arguments, taken together, can be regarded as a meaningful argument in establishing that the ceiling of Karakhamun's tomb is based on an intermediate model between those of the New Kingdom and those of the Late Period cannot be determined for the moment. It should also be borne in mind that there are pitfalls in the burial chamber that call for caution in a too-simplistic identification of an evolutionary pattern: the iconographical features of the seven western deities associated with the boreal constellations—the location of the identifying legend, the sun disk over their heads, the type of kilt or the gesture of the hands—change from one tomb to another of the Senenmut family without any apparent rule. This should warn against an oversimplified interpretation of other cases where a diachronological evolutionary pattern seems to be followed, such as the growing number of stars in the legs of Saturn.

Also, care must be taken not to give too much symbolic importance to certain details. The kilts of Sah could be an example: he wears a *šndyt* in Senenmut and Mentuemhat, but a very simple one in Karakhamun and Padiamenope.

Recent studies on Egyptian mythology have refused to emphasize the problem that the absence of written religious accounts presents for historians. On the contrary, they insist on the possibilities offered to ancient theologians by the flexibility and multifunctionality of mythemes or *notions mythiques*.⁴⁴ These are the smallest units of meaning in which textual or iconographical information about a deity's sphere were expressed: an action or a quality of a god, or the relations between divine beings. An image such as Karakhamun's painted firmament, considering its location, buried at a depth of around 20 meters under ground level, was conceived as a piece of mythological knowledge in which each element is related to the others, creating a net of superimposed readings.

In ancient Egyptian language, nature and color could be expressed with the same word; in art, color is a symbolic statement that defines the essential nature of that which is represented, expanding the information given by line or form.⁴⁵ The ceiling of Karakhamun's main chamber only uses four colors, chosen from among the basic ones available to the ancient artists because of their meaning.

The background of the scene is painted dark blue. This is the color of the cosmic waters that were opened in the 'First Time' to create the universe. From that moment, they were separated from the visible and shaped space of human existence, surrounding it. Not being eliminated, they kept a dualistic value, either of threat—as menacing liquid without light or form—or as an element that retains its primeval force to give life. These waters may actually have been considered the source of the sky's coloration. The boats of constellations and planets find their explanation in this belief.

Names and figures of all kinds of asterisms, including decans, planets, and constellations, and of their associated divinities, and even the image of Nut traversing the sky, are all written or represented with yellow paint. The golden color is related to elements that symbolize eternity, beginning with the flesh of the gods, supposed to be of this metal.

A very small number of the ceiling's elements are represented through red tonality. The most prominent are the three solar disks that run through the body of the central goddess, recalling the fierce nature of the radiance of Ra. The central point of the stars in the surrounding frame is perhaps an allusion to the luminosity they give in the night, which is reminiscent of sunlight.

Nut's hair is the only feature painted black. A color reserved for a single element highlights its importance. In fact, hair played a meaningful role in the ceremony of burial. The mourners, at a certain point in the ritual, covered their faces with it in a gesture that the texts refer to as *nwn*.⁴⁶ Denying vision to their eyes, they sank themselves in the same state of darkness as the deceased: not to see meant not to feel, not to know—being death. The withdrawal of their hair restored their capability to see,

and for the deceased, the access to light and to resurrection. It must also be remembered that the deceased, assimilated to an Osiris, was identified with the son of Nut.

In TT 223, the frontal body of the goddess, without stars, is an image closer to that of a real woman than those of the Valley of the Kings tombs, where she is shown doubled over and in profile. According to R.A. Wells, the relative position of some of the features of the Milky Way seen as Nut, its supposed head and birth canal, coincide with the points of the horizon where the sun sinks and rises during the spring equinox and the winter solstice, respectively. These events are separated from each other by nine months, the same duration as human gestation. In her arched figure, the deity's fallen hair makes allusion to the ritual gesture *nwn* performed for the deceased placed under her, while the solar disks represented on her body allude to her regenerative capacity and to the moment of delivery. Thus, the figure of the goddess in Karakhamun's chamber has the double function of separating the asterisms of the ceiling into two groups in her role of Milky Way and, in her role of mother, of providing to the deceased the security of his rebirth, reinforced by the different symbolisms attached to her figure. The identification of Ra with Osiris should not be controversial, since it is stated in several sources since the Middle Kingdom and in different contexts.

The asterisms of the ceiling are also part of this net of symbolism. Their meaning is not different from that of other monuments, but the addition of certain details deepens particular aspects.

The center of the scene in the northern firmament is occupied by the circumpolar stars, those that are visible in the sky the whole year round. From the time of the Pyramid Texts, to ascend among them was seen as a desirable destination in the afterlife, as the deceased was provided with their capacity of permanence.

The place in the middle of the southern firmament is taken by Sah-Osiris and Isis-Sopdet. The iconographical relation between these two asterisms and, by derivation, of the gods personified in them, is another way of promising rebirth.⁴⁷ Their scepters become the manifestation of their united powers: *w3s*, 'dominion,' *w3d*, 'to make flourish.' The stars over their boats, mirroring themselves, are another way of representing the ties that bind them. Sah precedes Canis Major in the movement of the celestial vault and in the image of the ceiling. His twisted figure shows him divided between the destiny he sees in the West, disappearance, and his desire to live expressed through the hand holding the ankh sign directed toward Sopdet. This gesture can be related to the allusion in funerary texts to their copulation to engender Horus. Sopdet, whom texts qualify frequently as "given life," also shows a complex symbolism. Her headdress contributes greatly. The *m3't*-feather is bound to her function as herald of the annual cycle of the Nile flood, an expression of the return of the cosmic order; the straight feathers are those of Min, implying his force of fecundity and richness; all three give the capacity of rebirth to the goddess. The missing solar disk insists on a similar meaning. Sopdet is the brightest star of the night sky, a kind of double of the Sun in his daily travel, and it is the one that announces daylight during its meaningful heliacal rising.

The whole list of decans became one of the stronger images of the integration between the celestial afterlife and the netherworld that began its development during the Middle Kingdom.⁴⁸ These stars, which are not circumpolar, sink themselves into the horizon, remain hidden under the earth for a period of time, and then reappear for the rest of the year. Thus, decans are chosen as a sure sign of a perpetual rebirth. Therefore, both registers of the ceiling display as a unit the two complementary aspects of hope in the hereafter: the permanence as represented by the northern stars and the cyclic return of the asterisms of the southern firmament.

Notes

- * The author warmly thanks K. Blakeney for her careful reading of this chapter's language. The reconstruction still in process would not be possible without the skillfulness and patience of Abdelrasek Mohammed Ali, Mahmud (Abdelhady) Tayb Mahmud, and Sayid Ali Hassan, restorers.
- 1 Senenmut (TT 353, Eighteenth Dynasty) and Tharwas (TT 232, Nineteenth or Twentieth Dynasty), both on the West Bank of Luxor. Otto Neugebauer and Richard A. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts. 3. Decans, Planets, Constellations and Zodiacs*, vol. 1, Brown Egyptological Studies 6 (London: Lund Humphries, 1969), 6, 10–12, 24–26.
- 2 The title ꜥꜣ hꜣt is also identified on some fragments belonging to the horizontal text on top of the four walls and is followed by the name in all cases. See Miguel Á. Molinero Polo, "The Broad Hall of the Two Maats. Spell BD 125 in Karakhamun's Main Burial Chamber," in *Thebes in the First Millennium BC*, edited by Elena Pischikova, Julia Budka, and Kenneth Griffith (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), 269–294.
- 3 Dieter Eigner, *Die monumentalen Grabbauten der Spätzeit in der thebanischen Nekropole*, Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österreichischen archäologischen Institutes 6 (Vienna: Öster. Akad. der Wiss., 1984), 42, had mentioned it very briefly in his description of TT 223, "in der Sargkammer Malerei auf Putz: Astronomische Decke, in deren Mitte die Himmelsgöttin Nut in gestreckter Gestalt, flankiert von Götterbarken," but unfortunately, this sentence does not convey the importance of the ceiling or its state of preservation.
- 4 Miguel Á. Molinero Polo, "La recuperación del techo astronómico de la tumba de Karakhamon (TT 223)," *Herisbef* 52 (2012): 7–9.
- 5 This number does not include the tomb of Harwa. Nevertheless, it must be remembered that one of the chambers of the main shaft complex shows traces of a figure of Nut, in complete frontal view, in the ceiling. It can be compared to the one studied in this chapter, and it could raise the question of whether it made up part of an astronomical ceiling, although it is not in the burial chamber itself, as in the three other tombs. See Francesco Tiraditti, "The Tomb of Harwa, Luxor Tomb TT37, the 1998 Season," 12 November 1998, <http://www.harwa.it/vecchisiti/sito99/reports/1998.htm>. Accessed 15th January 2012.
- 6 Patrice Le Guilloux, *Le mobilier funéraire de Psousemmès Ier* (Arlès: Actes Sud, 2010), 209–14; Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, vol. 2, pl. 16, and vol. 3, 38–39.
- 7 For an exhaustive study of the Nut spells in first-millennium BC sarcophagi and coffins, see Martin von Falck, *Textgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu Götterreden und*

verwandten Texten auf ägyptischen Särgen und Sarkophagen von der 3. Zwischenzeit bis zur Ptolemäerzeit (Münster: Westfälischen Wilhelms Universität zu Münster, 2001).

- 8 Translation: James P. Allen, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005), 82. This is the most common phrase, with usually only 638a–b being copied. 632a (spell 366) is also frequent, although the allusion to Sopdet in 632b is not always included. In other documents, the sentence is completed with a reference to the Imperishable Stars.
- 9 On the interpretation of the Milky Way from a mythological point of view, see Ronald A. Wells, “The Mythology of Nut and the Birth of Ra,” *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 19 (1992): 305–21.
- 10 In this tomb, the borderline is only preserved on the south side (or, at least, this is the only one represented in the publication) and it is narrower, since it is made of only two rows of stars. See Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts* 3, Vol. 2, pls. 20 and 21.
- 11 Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts* 3, Vol. 2, pls. 18 and 19. In this tomb, it is visible only on the short sides, north and south, since its orientation is different from the other aforementioned funerary chambers.
- 12 Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts* 3, Vol. 2, fig. 14.
- 13 Klaus P. Kuhlmann and Wolfgang Schenkel, *Das Grab des Ibi, Obergutsverwalters der Gottesgemahlin des Amun. Thebanisches Grab, Nr. 36*, Band 1: Beschreibung der unterirdischen Kult- und Bestattungsanlage, AVDAIK 15 (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1983), pl. 144–145.
- 14 EA 6678; see: The British Museum Collection, www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online, accessed 21 September 2013; Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts* 3, vol. 1, 61–62, and vol. 2, pl. 16.
- 15 Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts* 3, vol. 1, 105.
- 16 Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts* 3, vol. 1, 157–59.
- 17 Jochem Kahl, “Textkritische Bemerkungen zu den Diagonalsternuhren des Mittleren Reiches,” *SAK* 20 (1993): 95–107.
- 18 Kahl, “Textkritische Bemerkungen,” 101: β = Neugebauer and Parker’s Group II; γ = Neugebauer and Parker’s Group I; independent from α = Neugebauer and Parker’s Group III.
- 19 It must be stated that the astronomical ceilings are not included in Kahl’s analysis, since they were created from the New Kingdom onward and he concentrates his study on Middle Kingdom coffins.
- 20 See the tables in Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts* 3, vol. 1, 158–59. For the following numbers, see below, in the paragraph devoted to the decans:
 - Decans 1, 6, and 7 are absent in the Sethy I B and Tanis families.
 - Decans 8, 9, and 28 are absent in the Sethy I B family.
 - Decans 11, 12, 13, and 36 are absent in the Tanis family.
 - Decan 21 is absent from the Miscellaneous fragments.
 - Decan 22 is absent from the Tanis family and the Miscellaneous list.
 And, providing clearer confirmation, decans 32, 33, and 34 are absent from the Sethy I A, Sethy I B, Sethy I C, and Tanis families, and the Miscellaneous fragments.

- 21 For a discussion on the repetition of decan 33, see Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts* 3, vol. 1, 112–14.
- 22 Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts* 3, vol. 1, 194.
- 23 The later examples of the family are the ceiling of Roda (Twenty-sixth Dynasty), the sarcophagus of Abu Yasin (Thirtieth Dynasty), the ceilings Hermopolis B and Hermopolis D, the clepsydrae of Ptolemy II and Florence, and the coffin of Hornedjitef (all Ptolemaic period). Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts* 3, vol. 1, 6–7, 106. Since the objective of this text is not a study of the whole group of documents, they will be referred to only if no chronologically closer parallel is found. The ceiling in the burial chamber of Ibi (Twenty-sixth Dynasty) is said to make part of this family by its editors (Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *Das Grab des Ibi*, 253, note 1376); indeed, among the few fragments of names preserved, the presence of decans 1, 12, 21, and 22 is a favorable argument, but the absence of decans 32, 33, and 34—probably due to the bad state of preservation—precludes a clear confirmation.
- 24 Kurt Locher, “Middle Kingdom Astronomical Coffin Lids: Extension of the Corpus from 12 to 17 Specimens since Neugebauer and Parker,” in *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists*, edited by Christopher J. Eyre (Leuven: Peeters, 1998), 697–702.
- 25 Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts* 3, vol. 1, 2.
- 26 Robert Böker, “Über Namen und Identifizierung der ägyptischen Dekane,” *Centaurus* 27 (1984): 189–217; José Lull and Juan A. Belmonte, “A Firmament above Thebes: Uncovering the Constellations of Ancient Egyptians,” *Journal for the History of Astronomy* 37 (2006): 373–92.
- 27 Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts* 3, vol. 1, 105–15.
- 28 For the same procedure, see Rainer Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch II. Mittleres Reich und Zweite Zwischenzeit* (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 2006). For a German translation, see Böker, “Über Namen,” 198–99, and for an English translation, see Lull and Belmonte, “A Firmament,” 383–84.
- 29 For a general review of these problems, see Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts* 3, vol. 1, 112–114.
- 30 Translation: Allen, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, 162.
- 31 José Lull, *La Astronomía en el antiguo Egipto* (Valencia: Universitat de València, 2005), 199.
- 32 Nathalie Beaux, “Associations divines et réalité astronomique. La représentation de *Spdt*,” in *Hommages à Fayza Haikal*, edited by Nicholas Grimal (Cairo: IFAO, 2003), 51–52.
- 33 Lull, *La Astronomía*, 175–85, reviews the substantives that could have been used to designate the planets.
- 34 Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts* 3, vol. 1, 178, considered this name an error of the scribe. To the contrary, Belmonte and Shaltout have argued that in the waterclock of Karnak, the planets seem to represent twin forms of the figure of the king. In Senenmut, the image of Hatshepsut is substituted by her serekh; as she does not proclaim herself *k3 nht*, “victorious bull,” in the name of her serekh, the planet could not be called *hrrw k3 pt*. It was transformed into *mwt k3 pt*, “mother of the bull of the sky,” to parallel the ‘twin’ serekh of the female king (see Juan Antonio Belmonte

- and Mosalem Shaltout, "The Astronomical Ceiling of Senenmut: a Dream of Mystery and Imagination," in *Lights and Shadows in Cultural Astronomy: Proceedings of the SEAC 2005, Isili, Sardinia, 28 June to 3 July*, edited by Mauro P. Zedda and Juan Antonio Belmonte (Isili: Associazione Archeofila Sarda, 2007), 149–50).
- 35 Kurt Locher, "The Ancient Egyptian Constellation Group of 'the Lion between the two Crocodiles' and the Bird," *Archaeoastronomy* 15 (1990): S49–S51, with reference to previous works of the author; Lull and Belmonte, "A Firmament," with reference to their previous identifications.
 - 36 On their possible use as indicators of the hours fixed by the transit of bright stars, in a similar way to Ramesside watches, see Marshall Clagett, *Ancient Egyptian Science. II: Calendars, Clocks and Astronomy* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1995), 120.
 - 37 Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts* 3, vol. 1, 194.
 - 38 Karakhamun's fourth and seventh falcon-headed western deities and their absence of solar disks are paralleled in Hornedjitef's coffin. In it, the seventh and eighth eastern deities hold weapons, but they are a kind of mace. In Merenptah/Psusesnes's sarcophagus, the figure corresponding to the sixth eastern deity wears a male kilt and the eighth (and probably also seventh) holds a knife.
 - 39 Peter Munro, *Die spätägyptischen Totenstelen* (Glückstadt: J.J. Augustin, 1973), 24–26: Theben I B type.
 - 40 Anthony J. Spalinger, "Month Representations," *Chronique d'Égypte* 70, no. 139–40 (1995): 115.
 - 41 Belmonte and Shaltout, "The Astronomical Ceiling," 150.
 - 42 Clagett, *Ancient Egyptian Science*, 68–69.
 - 43 Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts* 3, vol. 1, 8–10. After their discovery, the boards were reburied and cannot be checked.
 - 44 Susanne Bickel, *La cosmogonie égyptienne avant le Nouvel Empire* (Freiburg, Göttingen: Éditions Universitaires, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994), 15, 246–56, 270–78; Katja Goebis, "A Functional Approach to Egyptian Myth and Mythemes," *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions* 2 (2002): 27–59.
 - 45 Richard H. Wilkinson, *Symbol and Magic in Egyptian Art* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1994), 104–14.
 - 46 Maria Rosa Valdesogo Martín, "Les cheveux des pleureuses dans le rituel funéraire égyptien. Le geste *nwn*," in *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century: Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Egyptologists, Cairo, 2000*, edited by Zahi Hawass and Lyla Pinch Brock (Cairo, New York: The American University in Cairo Press, 2002), 548–57.
 - 47 Beaux, "Associations divines," 55–61.
 - 48 Erik Hornung, "Zur Bedeutung der ägyptischen Dekangestirne," *GM* 17 (1975): 36–37.



Preliminary Notes on Coffin Fragments Discovered in TT 223

John H. Taylor

The following brief observations are based on an examination of photographs of fragments of painted and carved wood which have been provisionally identified as parts of coffins. The intention has been to assess the probability of this identification and to make some preliminary suggestions as to the dating of the objects.

The numerical grouping of the fragments follows that provided by the excavators. In some cases, a single group appears to include fragments which originally belonged to coffins of different periods (for example, 'Coffin 4'), and in one instance ('Coffin 7'), the larger fragments can be identified as parts of a canopic chest, rather than those of a coffin.

On the evidence of their stylistic features and the paleography of the inscriptions, all the fragments appear to belong to one of two phases: Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasties and Thirtieth Dynasty/Ptolemaic Period.¹ I have used these designations to date the fragments from TT 223.

2011.1606 (Coffin 1)

Fragment of wood, apparently from a coffin, with part of a vertical inscription, reading "... Amun, Nefer . . . re [in cartouche]. . ." The appearance of the name Amun immediately before the cartouche might seem to indicate that the latter contained the name of a God's Wife, but no known God's Wife of Amun has a name beginning with the signs 'Re-nefer-. . .'. The absence of a royal titulary before the name suggests that the inscription did not name a king per se. A possible solution is that the inscription contains the title of a priest or official of Amun, followed by a basiliphorous name. In that case, the cartouche could have contained the prenomen of Shabaqo (Neferkare), Taharqo (Khunefertumre—if the signs for 'Nefertum' were written separately, as sometimes happened),² or Psamtik II (Neferibre). Although the paleography of the signs on



Fig. 12.1. Coffin 1. Tomb of Karakhamun. *Photo Katherine Blakeney, SACP*

the fragment gives few clues as to the date, the ‘*n*’ sign in Amun, with its rather steeply angled ripples, does resemble writings of this sign on Twenty-fifth Dynasty coffins and wooden stelae, but a later date would not be impossible. If the name in the cartouche was Neferibre, it is possible that the fragment belonged to the secondary user of TT 223.

2011.1251 (Coffin 2)

The surviving decoration includes several rows which formed parts of a collar. Some of the motifs, such as the rosettes and the repeating lozenge pattern, are attested on coffins of the Thirtieth Dynasty/Ptolemaic period, and the associated coloration is consistent with this date: compare British Museum EA 6677–78 (probably reign of Ptolemy III)³ and Florence, Museo Egizio, Inv. 5703 A, B.⁴ A fragment with a *b3*-bird could have formed part of the well-known scene representing the mummy on a bier; this occurs on cartonnage covers at Thebes in this period, although it is less often attested on wooden coffins.



Fig. 12.2. Coffin 2. Tomb of Karakhamun. *Photo Katherine Blakeney, SACP*

2011.1184 (Coffin 3)

These small fragments of wood preserve elements of a collar carved in relief. The representation of the falcon-headed collar terminal in an otherwise empty space above the rows indicates that the collar was not depicted ‘realistically’ (as if attached by clasps at the shoulders of the deceased), but was represented laid on the breast, with the terminals positioned below the shoulders. This arrangement is very characteristic of the Thirtieth Dynasty/Ptolemaic period.⁵

2011.1606 (Coffin 4)

These numerous fragments appear to belong to at least two separate coffins of different dates. A green-painted left human ear may be attributed to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, since the use of green skin coloring on Theban coffins appears to be confined to the middle and later years of that dynasty.⁶ Another fragment, depicting a canopic jar (beneath a mummy on a bier?), might also date to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, although this motif is also attested in the Ptolemaic period: compare a cartonnage cover from Armant tomb 403 and a close parallel, British Museum EA 6969.⁷ A further fragment has a short vertical inscription which appears to include a name ending in “-rw” (possibly Irty-rw?), followed by “*maa-kheru*.” This type of name was common both in the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasties, and also in the Thirtieth Dynasty/Ptolemaic period.⁸

Inscriptions on other fragments have palaeographical features which are characteristic of the Thirtieth Dynasty/Ptolemaic period. Three fragments have texts on polychrome backgrounds, with a consistent style of script and coloration which suggests that all of them belonged to one coffin. On one of these, the name of the owner, “the Osiris Mentuemhat,” can be read; on another, there is part of a horizontal line reading: “[*maa*]-*kheru*, son of the Prophet Nesmin, *maa-kheru*” and, below this, parts of vertical columns in which again the name “[Men]tuemhat” can be read. The name Mentuemhat is also legible on a fragment of ‘Coffin 8.’ While these references could possibly commemorate a descendant of the famous Mentuemhat of the late Twenty-fifth/early Twenty-sixth Dynasty, it is perhaps more likely that they date to the Thirtieth Dynasty/Ptolemaic period, when other persons of this name are attested, as, for example, one mentioned on funerary material from TT 414.⁹



Fig. 12.3. Coffin 3. Tomb of Karakhamun. Photo Katherine Blakeney, SACP



Fig. 12.4. Coffin 4. Tomb of Karakhamun. Photo Katherine Blakeney, SACP



Fig. 12.5. Coffin
5. Tomb of
Karakhamun.
Photo Katherine
Blakeney, SACP

Other features of the ‘Coffin 4’ fragments point to this same period, such as the proportions of the standing god figure, with a high-domed head, and the motifs employed in some of the collar rows.

2011.1063 (Coffin 5)

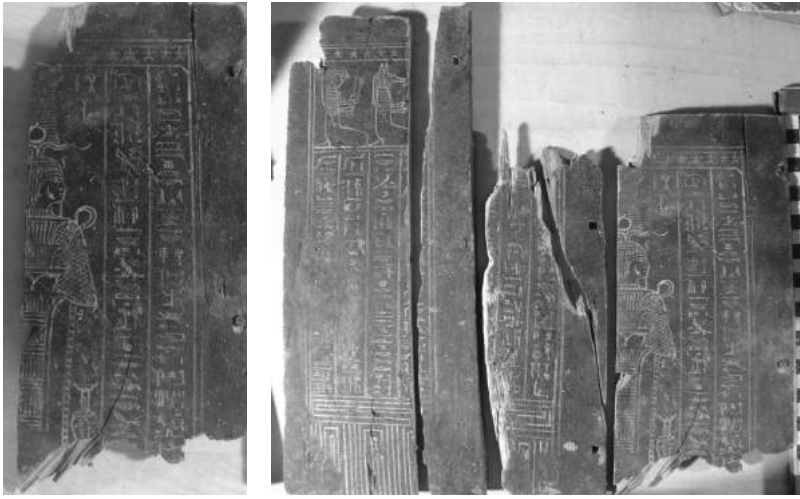
The paleography of the inscriptions and the color scheme of these fragments appear to be consistent with a dating to the Thirtieth Dynasty/Ptolemaic period. The fragments of a wig, with broad colored bands at the end of one of the lappets, are also more characteristic of this phase than any earlier period.

2011.1183 (Coffin 6)

These small fragments probably represent parts of more than one coffin of different dates. One fragment shows figures from a procession of deities (with red bodies and green kilts) which probably comes from a *grsw* coffin of Twenty-fifth or Twenty-sixth Dynasty type, with scenes of the towing of the solar bark on each side of the lid.¹⁰ On another fragment is a *b3*-bird, whose high-domed headdress is a feature characteristic of the Thirtieth Dynasty/Ptolemaic period. A small collar fragment with a rosette design may be of the same date (compare the comment on Coffin 2, above).

2011.2062 (Coffin 7)

These fragments share a common color scheme, with yellow designs and inscriptions on a black background. Some pieces are clearly parts of the wig and collar of one or more coffins, of a type well-attested in the Thirtieth Dynasty/Ptolemaic period: compare British Museum EA 6677.¹¹ The larger pieces belong to a canopic chest of the same period and are inscribed for a Horemheb, son of Nesmin, mother Taukeshet.¹²



Figs. 12.6 and 12.7. Coffin 7. Tomb of Karakhamun. Photo Katherine Blakeney, SACP

2011.1588 (Coffin 8)

The paleography and the color scheme appear consistent with a dating to the Thirtieth Dynasty/Ptolemaic period. Two joining pieces have a sequence of titles including the words "... Prophet ... Coptos ... Khonsu in [Thebes] Neferhotep" A smaller fragment with a vertical text has "The Osiris God's Father of Amun-Re, King of the Gods, Stolist" Another fragment bears the name Mentuemhat—possibly the same individual mentioned on fragments of Coffin 4.



Fig. 12.8. Coffin 8. Tomb of Karakhamun. Photo Katherine Blakeney, SACP



Fig. 12.9. Coffin 9. Tomb of Karakhamun. Photo Katherine Blakeney, SACP



Fig. 12.10. Coffin 10. Tomb of Karakhamun. Photo Katherine Blakeney, SACP

2011.2821 (Coffin 9)

A fragment, perhaps from a coffin, bearing a vertical inscription containing part of an offering formula, reading "... incense, *merhet*-oil and all good and pure things for the *k3* of ... mer ...". The paleography suggests the Thirtieth Dynasty/Ptolemaic period.

2011.1849 (Coffin 10)

The fragment at the top left, with a curved profile, is probably part of the short end of the vaulted lid of a *grsw* coffin of the Twenty-fifth or Twenty-sixth Dynasty. Two fragments below this in the photograph are probably also of the same period, on the grounds of the color scheme and the paleography of the three hieroglyphic signs which write "*djesef*" (possibly part of the name of the god Ir-renef-djesef, who is frequently mentioned on Theban coffins in the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasties).

A small fragment (bottom centre of the photograph) has the hieroglyphs for the word *dw3* (praise). The treatment of this inscription (blue paint applied directly to the surface of the wood) is one which is attested on coffins both in the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasties and in the Thirtieth Dynasty/Ptolemaic period. At the right of the photograph is a fragment bearing an enigmatic design, which is of uncertain date.

Notes

- 1 Compare the dating of the similar material from TT 414: Julia Budka, "Neues zu den Nutzungsphasen des Monumentalgrabes von Anch-Hor, Obersthofmeister der Gottesgemahlin Nitokris (TT 414)," *Ägypten und Levante* 18 (2008): 63.

- 2 Jürgen von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*, MÄS 49 (Mainz am Rhein: Phillip von Zabern, 1999), 209.
- 3 Nigel Strudwick, *The British Museum: Masterpieces of Ancient Egypt* (London: British Museum, 2006), 294–97.
- 4 M. Christina Guidotti, ed., *Le Mummie del Museo Egizio di Firenze* (Florence: Giunti, 2001), 40–43.
- 5 Strudwick, *The British Museum*, 295, 297; Guidotti, *Le Mummie del Museo Egizio*, 43.
- 6 John H. Taylor, “Patterns of Colouring on Ancient Egyptian Coffins from the New Kingdom to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty: An Overview,” in *Colour and Painting in Ancient Egypt*, edited by W. Vivian Davies (London: The British Museum Press, 2001), 175.
- 7 Oliver H. Myers and Herbert W. Fairman, “Excavations at Armant, 1929–31,” *JEA* 17 (1931): pls. 56–57.
- 8 For several persons of this name attested from burial equipment in TT 414, see Manfred Bietak and Elfreide Reiser-Haslauer, *Das Grab des Anch-Hor. Obersthofmeister der Gottesgemahlin Nitokris*, Vol. 2. Untersuchungen Der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österreichischen archaologischen Institutes 4, 5 (Vienna: Öster. Akad. der Wiss., 1978–82), 268–69.
- 9 Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer, *Das Grab des Anch-Hor* 2, 277.
- 10 Compare Alexandre Moret, *Sarcophages de l'Époque Bubastite à l'Époque Saïte*, Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Nos. 41001–41041 (Cairo: Service des Antiquités de Égypte, 1913), pls. 9, 16, 18, 19.
- 11 Strudwick, *The British Museum*, 297.
- 12 For canopic chests of this type, see David A. Aston, “Canopic Chests from the Twenty-first Dynasty to the Ptolemaic Period,” *Ägypten und Levante* 10 (2000): 172 (pls. 18–19), 175–76.

Pottery from the Tomb of Karakhamun (TT 223)

Julia Budka

A first season of recording the pottery from TT 223 was carried out in August 2011. The main aim was to establish dating for the ceramics, and thus, to gain insights into the use-life of the tomb. A first corpus of wares and of pottery types was established. Additional goals were the clarification of the general character of the ceramic material and of possible differences and variations between individual areas and locations within the tomb, and an initial assessment of its functional use. The purpose of this report is to present a preliminary overview of the material (corpus of wares and types) and to highlight aspects of dating and functional use. Since the documentation of the ceramics from TT 223 will hopefully continue in the near future, providing further evidence, a full analysis of the pottery must await the results of this work.

The Pottery from TT 223

Quantitative Data

Deriving from 229 different find positions, a total of 6,791 sherds were looked at, sorted, and recorded according to their ware and vessel type. Among these sherds, 1,327 were classified as diagnostics during the first stage of work. It soon became clear that within certain areas, such as the burial compartment, the material is highly disturbed, but complete vessels can be reconstructed from the fragments. With the assistance of two workmen, the second and very time-consuming stage of work was to reconstruct the vessels from individual sherds of the same ware and type. This proved to be very successful and, for example, nine storage vessels/jars from the burial compartment (chamber X and shaft), including chamber IX.6, were completely reconstructed (mostly dating from the fifth to third centuries BC, see figure 13.3.2).

Table 13.1: Location of processed pottery (2011) from TT 223

Area	Amount
I.4	621
IV	1927
V	190
V.A1	1178
V.B1	487
VI.2	11
VII	224
IX.1+2, IX.5	17
IX.6	300
X shaft	24
X burial chamber	1781
Other	31
Total	6791

The distribution of the processed material according to areas within TT 223 is illustrated in table 13.1.

The majority of the material that was studied derives from the First Pillared Hall (IV), excavated in 2008 and 2009, and from the burial compartment, investigated in 2010 and 2011. The burial chambers V.A1 and V.B1, excavated in 2011, also yielded a substantial volume of material. Two hundred thirty-two pottery vessels were processed in detail, registered and documented by photos, and were recorded in the database in 2011. In addition, drawings of seventy pieces were realized in 2011.

Table 13.2 summarizes the general dating of the vessels registered in 2011.

The peak of the pottery presence in the studied material from TT 223 is clearly the early Ptolemaic period (fourth to third centuries BC), followed by the Kushite and Persian periods (Twenty-fifth and Twenty-seventh Dynasties). This is not unexpected within the Theban necropolis: the reuse of monumental temple tombs flourished, especially during the fourth and third centuries BC,¹ a phase when a reduction in the quantity of pottery associated with individual burials is noticeable.² The presence of material from the fifth century BC (Persian period) in TT 223 is remarkable—as yet, this phase is not well understood in Theban funerary archaeology.³

In the case of TT 223, the state of preservation of the archaeological material deriving from the subterranean chambers has to be taken into account—its burial compartments have been heavily and repeatedly plundered from antiquity. As a result of this considerable disturbance, the original burials are likely to be much less well preserved than material from the later reuse of the pillared halls.

Table 13.2: General dating of registered pottery vessels from TT 223, season 2011.

Period/dating	Number of vessels	Percentage
25th Dynasty	35	15.1
26th Dynasty	6	2.6
27th Dynasty	24	10.3
5th–3rd centuries BC	18	7.8
Ptolemaic	109	47.0
Roman	1	0.4
Late Roman	1	0.4
Coptic	1	0.4
Islamic	4	1.7
Unclear	33	14.2
Total	232	99.9

Corpus of Wares and Types—General Remarks

The site-specific categorization of fabrics occurring in TT 223 follows the system developed for the material from the Austrian concession in the Northern Asasif.⁴ Nile silt clay is by far the most common material. The majority of the pottery belongs to a medium, straw-tempered fabric equivalent to Vienna System Nile B2, labeled as Nile B3, and to a coarser variant with chaff, labeled as Nile C3. In addition, variants of these Nile clays occur, characterized by a high concentration of mica and sand, and often having been burnt in a reduced atmosphere (for example, Reg. No. P 2011.26.2) (see fig. 13.5.2). Another variant of Nile clay, which can be compared to Nile D of the Vienna System with some limestone inclusions, is rare but attested for some tall-necked jars (see fig. 13.2.5).⁵ The surface of Nile clay vessels is sometimes left uncoated, is quite regularly red washed, and sometimes is red slipped or white washed. For a particular type of red-slipped jar (see fig. 13.3.2), a clay is attested which can be compared to fabric J1 at Saqqara, being similar to a fine Nile C.⁶ Islamic painted ware, well known from other sites at Thebes, was produced in a coarse Nile or mixed clay, labeled as I-g (see fig. 13.9).⁷

Marl clays are less common than Nile clays, and the predominant marl clay for the material from TT 223 is Marl A4 in several variants.⁸ It was used both for open and closed forms (beakers, bowls, and storage vessels). The marl clay variant “K 200” was used for various painted vessels of the Ptolemaic Egyptian ‘Hadra ware’ and oil jars as is well attested elsewhere in Thebes (see fig. 13.8).⁹

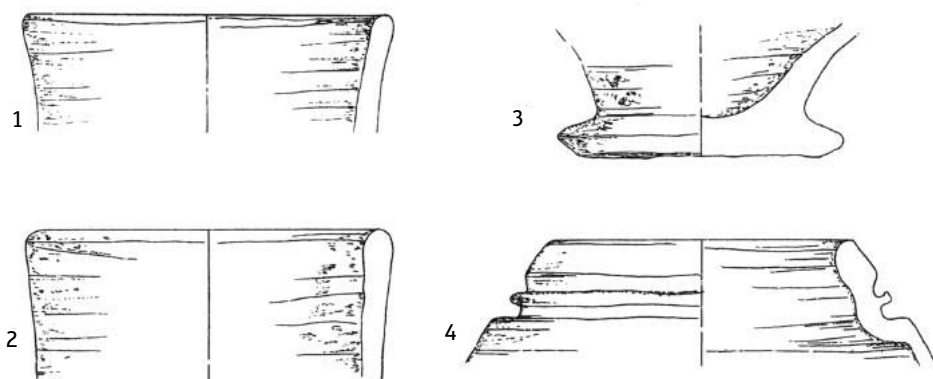


Fig. 13.1. Selected pottery from the burial compartment of TT 223 (Twenty-fifth Dynasty) (scale 1:2). Drawing Julia Budka

A distinctive clay can be identified as Oasis ware and compared to Hope's B23 from Dakhla Oasis;¹⁰ it is attested by two kegs from TT 223 (fig. 13.2.3). Some imported clays of non-Egyptian provenience are also present within the corpus, namely imported amphorae of Phoenician, Chiotic, and Clazomenian origin of a Twenty-sixth to Twenty-seventh Dynasty date.¹¹ In Ptolemaic times, Aegean amphorae were also copied in marl clay (for example, Reg. Nos. P 2011.3.5, 2011.142).¹²

Pottery from the Burial Compartment of TT 223

The focus in 2011 was the ceramics derived from the main burial areas, including room IX.6, the burial chamber X and its shaft, and the steps toward VII and IX. The volume of pottery excavated in the burial chamber is considerable and the material is quite mixed in character—Late Period pottery (Twenty-fifth to Twenty-seventh and Thirtieth Dynasties) appears together with Ptolemaic, Coptic, and modern ceramics. Typical types of storage vessels and bowls, most likely to have served as containers for grave goods, are present, as well as offering pottery with traces of incense such as common beakers and goblets.¹³

Pottery of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty

Despite the mixed appearance of the ceramics from area X, a small quantity of Twenty-fifth Dynasty vessels was identified—these very likely formed part of the original burial equipment of Karakhamun. A total of thirteen vessels from the burial compartment date to the Kushite period and comprises the following types:¹⁴ five conical cups with flat bases (Aston's type 55) (fig. 13.1.3), three round-based beakers (Aston's types 39–40) (cf. figs. 13.5.1 and 13.5.2), two globular jars (Aston's type 59) (figs. 13.1.1 and 13.1.2), and one large sausage jar (Aston's types 124–25), all manufactured in various Nile clay fabrics. The marl clay vessels include a restricted bowl with handles (Aston's type 135) and a typical late eighth- to seventh-century BC storage vessel with grooved rim (Aston's type 159) (fig. 13.1.4).

Of particular interest within this small pottery corpus are slender beakers with direct rims and round bases (figs. 13.5.1 and 13.5.2)—they are not found among typical Egyptian tomb groups of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, but find their closest parallels at Medinet Habu, within the ceramics associated with the burial of Amenirdis.¹⁵ The vessel type is common within Napatán tomb groups in Kush itself,¹⁶ and a similar example was recovered from a small Kushite family tomb in the Northern Asasif, identified as a Kushite import (tomb VII of the Austrian concession).¹⁷ It is reasonable to assume that these small beakers from TT 223 are also Kushite imports, attesting to the indigenous tradition of Karakhamun within his Egyptian temple tomb. The red-washed surface of the beakers and their reduced burning support this identification.

Persian Pottery and Possible Remains of an Embalming Cache

No Saite pottery could be safely identified as coming from the burial compartment of TT 223. However, the Oasis keg Reg. No. P. 2011.1 might be Twenty-sixth Dynasty in date, or a bit later (fig. 13.2.3). In general, for some types, especially storage vessels, a close dating as either Twenty-sixth Dynasty or Twenty-seventh Dynasty is not always possible.¹⁸ Thus, as yet unclear evidence for any reuse of the main burial compartment in Saite times has to be treated with caution and must await the complete analysis of the funerary material.

The next phase of use clearly traceable after the burial of Karakhamun is attested by a small corpus of vessels which are well known from the contexts of embalming caches, both from Thebes and Saqqara.¹⁹ The majority of the fragments from which these vessels were reconstructed were found within TT 223 in room IX.6, but several joining pieces were found in the shaft filling and also in the burial chamber. It seems worth speculating that the cache of vessels was originally deposited within IX.6 in the fifth century BC and consequently disrupted during the later reuse and plundering of the tomb.²⁰

The group includes the following: two Chiotic amphorae, one Clazomenian amphora, one Aegean amphora of unknown origin (possibly Eastgreek), two Phoenician amphorae with hieratic docket, ²¹ one Egyptian marl clay storage vessel, and

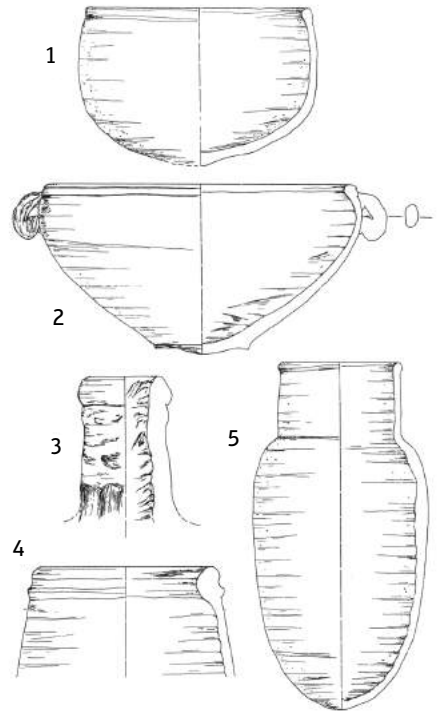


Fig. 13.2. Selected pottery from the burial compartment of TT 223 (Twenty-sixth to Twenty-seventh Dynasties) (scale 1:6). Drawing Julia Budka

two Nile clay vessels (one red-washed slender jar with tall neck and rounded base, and one red-slipped bottle with rolled rim, ribbing on the neck, and round base) (fig. 13.3.2). Whether there have been any open forms as well will be established by a closer analysis in the next season.

It is interesting to note that this embalming cache from TT 223 does not only include imported amphorae from the Aegean and Phoenicia, but also at least one vessel that is commonly associated with the northern manufacture of Egyptian pottery during the Twenty-seventh Dynasty. At present, the complete example of a thin-walled, red-slipped bottle with rolled rim and ribbing on the neck (Reg. No. P 2011.117.1 + 3) is the most southern evidence for this well-known Saqqara type (fig. 13.3.2).²²

Typical types of open forms for the fifth to fourth centuries BC are also present within the burial compartment: a minimum of three handled dishes ('Henkelschalen,' fig. 13.2.2) and several so-called 'goldfish bowls' were reconstructed (fig. 13.2.1). These find many parallels within the Theban necropolis²³ and at Karnak.²⁴

Pottery of the 30th Dynasty and the Ptolemaic Times

As is well known from other Late Period temple tombs in Thebes, TT 223 experienced a phase of intense reuse as a burial place in the fourth and third centuries BC

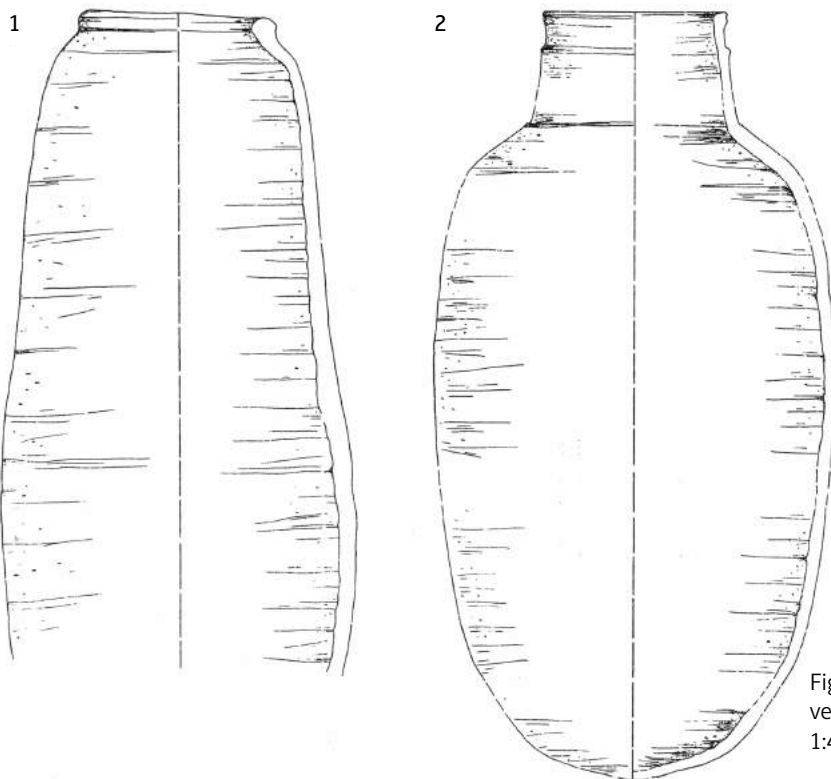


Fig. 13.3. Selected storage vessels from TT 223 (scale 1:4). Drawing Julia Budka

(see above)—this phase has also left traces in the burial compartment. The most common pottery types that find many parallels throughout the Theban necropolis are small conical beakers used as burners (see fig. 13.4.2),²⁵ miniature vessels, situla-like vessels, amphorae, pot stands, and painted storage vessels in the Egyptian ‘Hadra ware’ style (fig. 13.7).²⁶

Pottery from Room V and its Shafts

The material from shafts V.A1 and V.B1 was recorded, but has not yet been analyzed in detail. In both shafts, material of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty was present, as well as Saite and Persian pottery (fig. 13.5). The Kushite ceramics include, again, an imported Napatan beaker (fig. 13.5.2) and some marl clay storage vessels, as well as a fragment of a small bottle in Oasis ware, most likely from Dakhla.²⁷ Ceramics from the Thirtieth Dynasty and the early Ptolemaic era are especially abundant in V.A1, including nice pieces of painted Hadra-style ware. This material can be associated with a reuse of the shaft as a burial place in the fourth and third centuries BC.

The amount of material coming from V.B1 was considerably smaller and the date of usage of this shaft is difficult to assess. Pieces from the Twenty-fifth Dynasty are present, as well as vessels from the Twenty-sixth and Twenty-seventh Dynasties and Ptolemaic and Coptic times (various open shapes as well as storage vessels). It can be assumed that chamber V.B1 was repeatedly used as a burial place, at the latest from the Twenty-sixth Dynasty onward.²⁸

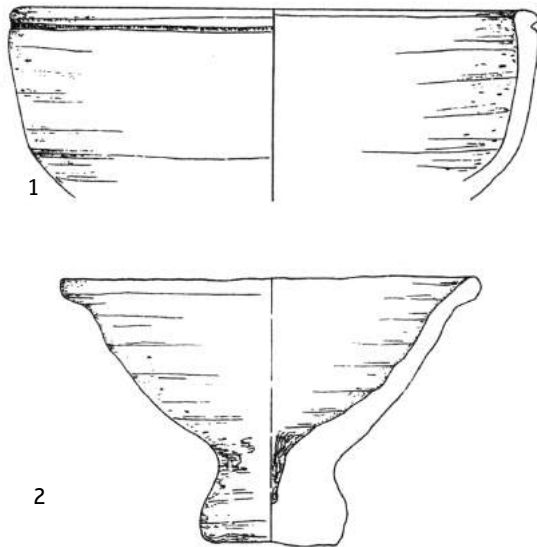


Fig. 13.4. Ptolemaic pottery from the burial compartment of TT 223 (scale 1:2). Drawing Julia Budka

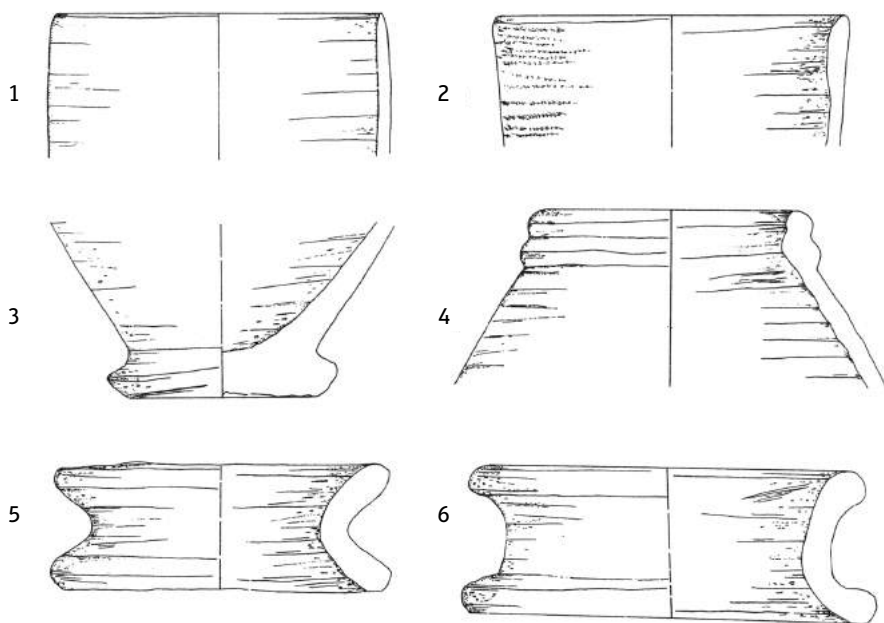


Fig. 13.5. Selected pottery from V.A1 and V.B1 of TT 223 (scale 1:3). Drawing Julia Budka

Pottery from the First Pillared Hall

The second focus of work on the ceramic material from TT 223 was on the pottery unearthed during the excavation of the First Pillared Hall. Here, the so-called bone layer (see Ikram, Chapter 14, in this volume) was of special interest. Although the material from this deposit is of very mixed character—comprising few New Kingdom sherds, some Late Period vessels, but mostly Ptolemaic, Roman, and Coptic, as well as Islamic, material—a preliminary dating of the level 0–20 centimeters above the floor seems possible. Despite random Coptic pieces, these deposits mainly originate from early to mid-Ptolemaic times. Interestingly, much of this material of third- to up to second-century BC date was secondarily burnt and/or covered with resin/bitumen. In general, the most common types are small offering plates, dishes, and cups and beakers used as burners, as well as embalming cups (sometimes with hieratic docketts)²⁹ and carinated bowls of various sizes and types (fig. 13.6).³⁰ Closed forms include so-called oil jars (fig. 13.8) and small jugs, as well as painted amphorae (fig. 13.7).

The frequent presence of oil and resin residues is paralleled in contemporary pottery excavated in the Northern Asasif³¹ and elsewhere in Thebes.³² It is difficult to assess the function of the vessels, especially of the large so-called oil jars (see fig. 13.8)³³ dating to the early Ptolemaic period. Partly related to canopic jars, they also resemble aspects of ritual vessels,³⁴ as well as common burial jars related to the storage of commodities.³⁵ In closed pottery shapes, remains of resin might be associated with mummification. Various oily substances were

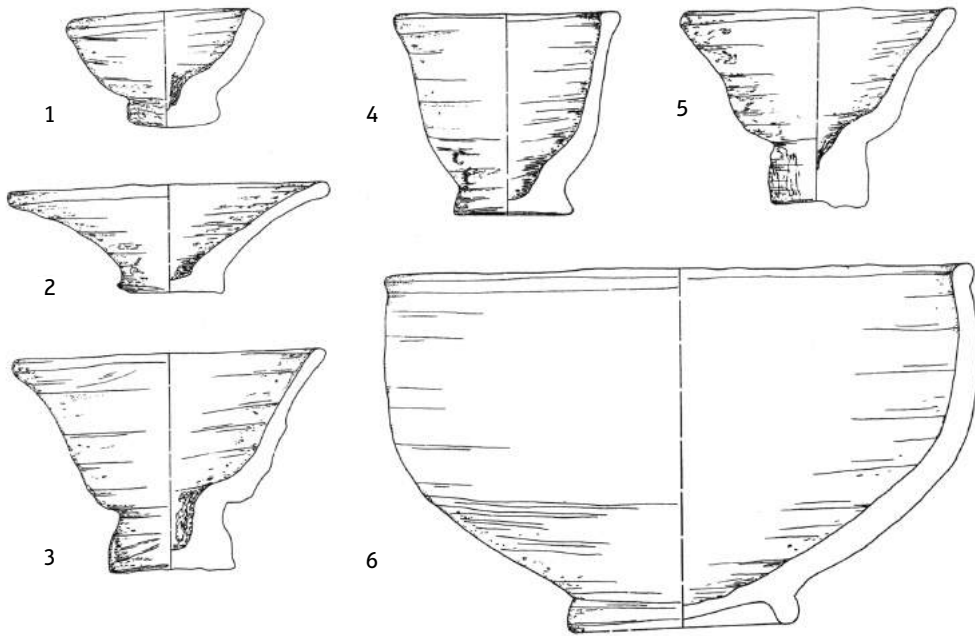


Fig. 13.6. Selected Ptolemaic pottery from the First Pillared Hall of TT 223 (scale 1:3). *Drawing Julia Budka*

used during mummification and during ritual acts performed on the mummy and other items of the burial equipment.

All in all, the material from the lowest level in the First Pillared Hall of TT 223 finds many parallels in the ceramics recovered from the same level in the pillared hall of TT 414.³⁶ As can be clearly established for TT 414, these ceramics of Ptolemaic date can be associated with burials and especially with the respective mortuary cult.³⁷

Late Ptolemaic material includes a considerable number of cooking pots and jars, which show traces of burning and might be associated with domestic activities. Domestic use of TT 223 is clearly attested for the late Roman and Coptic periods, as well as Islamic times (fig. 13.9). Amphorae, sieve vessels, cooking pots, bowls, and dishes underline the then-established dwelling character of the site.

Pottery from the Open Courtyard

Recent excavations in the open courtyard of TT 223, in its northwestern corner (I.4) have yielded some pottery of very mixed character. Some pieces from the New Kingdom are present, as well as a number from the Late Period (including storage jars of Twenty-fifth Dynasty date) and Ptolemaic times. Most of the material is Roman and Coptic in date; a proportion is modern material of recent times. Despite this mix of materials, it is interesting to stress the fact that the Ptolemaic pieces are completely consistent with what we know from other open courtyards of Late Period temple tombs. The



Fig. 13.7. Painted Ptolemaic amphora from TT 223 (Reg. No. P 2011.119).
Photo Julia Budka



Fig. 13.8. Ptolemaic oil jar from TT 223 (Reg. No. P 2011.87). *Photo Julia Budka*

best comparison may be found in TT 414, where small goblets used as burners, pot stands, pottery situlae, and offering plates comprise the main corpus of types.³⁸ Future studies will concentrate on the possible implications of these vessels for the reconstruction of the mortuary cult and votive activities.

Parallels for the Ceramics from TT 223

Parallels for the pottery from the early phase of TT 223 can be found both in Karakhamun's old homeland, present Sudan (among Napatan burials, for example Hillat al-Arab and Qustul,³⁹ and at the royal cemetery at Kurru as well⁴⁰), and within Egypt, for example at Abydos/Umm al-Qaab⁴¹ and also at Karnak.⁴²

Late Period pottery and ceramics of the Ptolemaic era have received some attention,⁴³ but for funerary contexts, especially at Thebes, the current state of both research and publication still falls far short.⁴⁴ Recently, a volume on primarily Persian pottery from Saqqara has been published, providing very good parallels for TT 223.⁴⁵ Pottery from Late Period and Ptolemaic contexts at Karnak did receive new attention from A. Masson⁴⁶—thanks to her publications, new comparisons with this very similar material are possible.

In recent years, the later reuse of Kushite and Saite temple tombs in the Thirtieth Dynasty and Ptolemaic times has been addressed, in particular for TT 414⁴⁷ and TT 37.⁴⁸ Finally, G. Schreiber has presented a concise study of the so-called Ptolemaic Egyptian 'Hadra ware'⁴⁹ and also a short and very useful summary of Ptolemaic funerary culture at Thebes, including references to the most important pottery types.⁵⁰

Relevance of the Ceramics from TT 223

The ceramics from the South Asasif necropolis and especially from TT 223 hold much potential, in two respects in particular: (1) the study of Kushite funerary culture at Thebes, and (2) the reconstruction of mortuary, ritual, and votive activities in Theban temple tombs in a diachronic perspective, including the phases of later reuse during Ptolemaic times.

Regarding (1): Despite recent achievements in the study of Egyptian ceramics originating from the Third Intermediate Period and the Late Period, there is still a "lack of well dated material."⁵¹ Recent archaeological fieldwork at sites like Thebes and Abydos has produced essential material from the Third Intermediate Period up to Ptolemaic times, but the assessment by

Aston that “the study of pottery development during the Third Intermediate Period is still in its infancy”⁵² still holds true today.⁵³ In Aston’s terminology, “Third Intermediate Period” also includes the Kushite dynasty—and for the study of little-known pottery of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, the South Asasif necropolis in particular holds rich potential. The value of the envisaged ceramic studies goes beyond dating evidence and will tackle research questions like cultural identities, social structures, and historical events.

The self-confidence of the Kushites is exceptional for foreigners in Egypt. Probably the majority were never fully acculturated and their foreign descent was demonstrated openly, for example by the fact that Kushites regularly wore their indigenous costume in the Egyptian context.⁵⁴ Objects of daily use imported from the old homeland, such as drinking vessels and beakers, are known from Kushite burials at Thebes.⁵⁵ A detailed study of the ceramics from the Kushite tombs in South Asasif as relevant remains of a significant material culture therefore has the potential to enlarge not only our knowledge of pottery of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty at Thebes, but also of Kushite self-confidence, material culture, and representation in Egypt in general.

Regarding (2): In general, pottery from Egyptian burial places attests to interments and other functional uses of tombs. Pottery may confirm ritual acts such as burning incense and other offerings related to burials and funerary rites. The high concentration of votive cups, bowls, and incense burners from TT 223, mostly of Thirtieth Dynasty and Ptolemaic date, finds good parallels in the tombs of Harwa (TT 37) and Ankh-Hor (TT 414). Mortuary cult within Theban temple tombs seems to have had a complex development, resulting in a temple-like offering cult in Ptolemaic times.⁵⁶ The material from TT 223 adds further evidence in this respect and will contribute to the discussion of changes and continuity in the Theban pottery tradition from the Late Period to the Ptolemaic era.⁵⁷

Conclusive Remarks

The pottery corpus from TT 223 illustrates the use-life of this tomb monument—its use includes a repeated function as burial place, initially in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty and repeated in the time span covering the period of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty until Ptolemaic times. It is still unclear whether the pottery datable to the Twenty-seventh Dynasty refers to Persian burials or just an embalming cache of this period. An increase in reuse as a tomb can be attested for the fourth century—in addition to the rich ceramic evidence, there are various coffins, chests, and other objects of this period. This reuse continues into the Ptolemaic period. The later phases (late Roman, Coptic, and Islamic) seem to refer to a domestic use of TT 223.



Fig. 13.9. Fragment of an Islamic decorated dish (view of interior) from TT 223 (Reg. No. P 2011.13). Photo Julia Budka

Table 13.3: Detailed information on illustrated ceramics from TT 223.

Fig.	Reg. No. P	Label/Form	Ware*	Dating	Find position
Fig. 13.1.1	2011.58.2	Beaker/Globular jar	Nile B3RW	25th Dynasty	X (1)
Fig. 13.1.2	2011.58.3	Globular jar	Nile B3RW	25th Dynasty	X (1)
Fig. 13.1.3	2011.19	Cup/goblet	Nile B3UC	25th Dynasty	X (1)
Fig. 13.1.4	2011.63	Storage vessel	Marl A4UC	25th (to 26th) Dynasty	X (1), X (3)
Fig. 13.2.1	2011.77	Goldfish bowl	Nile B3RW	5th-4th century	XA, X (1)-(4)
Fig. 13.2.2	2011.146	Handled dish	Marl A2/4UC	5th-4th century	X (1), X (2)
Fig. 13.2.3	2011.1	Oasis keg	Oasis B23/ Dakhla (Hope)	26th-27th Dynasties	X (4)
Fig. 13.2.4	2011.129	Storage vessel	Marl A4UC	26th-27th Dynasties	XA, X (1), IX.6
Fig. 13.2.5	2011.70	Necked slender jar	Nile D3RW	27th Dynasty?	XA, shaft, X (1)-(4)
Fig. 13.3.1	2011.137	Sausage jar	Nile C3WW/ UC	4th century? Ptolemaic?	IV.N6, 15-20 cm above floor
Fig. 13.3.2	2011.117.1	Necked jar	Nile B3RB	5th century	X (1)-(4)
Fig. 13.4.1	2011.62	Carinated dish/bowl	Nile B3UC	Ptolemaic	IX.1+2
Fig. 13.4.2	2011.43	Cup/beaker	Nile C3UC	Ptolemaic	IX.6
Fig. 13.5.1	2011.27	Beaker	Marl A4UC	25th Dynasty	V.B1
Fig. 13.5.2	2011.26.2	Napatan beaker	Nile B3varRB	25th Dynasty	V.B1
Fig. 13.5.3	2011.7.1	Cup/goblet	Nile B3UC	25th Dynasty	V between S6 and S7, near floor level
Fig. 13.5.4	2011.34.3	Storage vessel	Marl A4UC	26th Dynasty	V.B1
Fig. 13.5.5	2011.10.2	Pot stand	Nile C3UC	Ptolemaic	V.A1
Fig. 13.5.6	2011.10.1	Pot stand	Nile B3UC	Ptolemaic	V.A1
Fig. 13.6.1	2011.81	Dish/lid/miniature vessel	Nile C3UC	Ptolemaic	IV.N6, 15-20 cm above floor
Fig. 13.6.2	2011.94	Dish/miniature vessel	Nile B3UC	Ptolemaic	IV.SP4
Fig. 13.6.3	2011.79	Cup/beaker	Nile C3UC	Ptolemaic	IV.N6, 15-20 cm above floor
Fig. 13.6.4	2011.82	Embalming pot/ beaker	Nile B3UC	Ptolemaic	IV.C4, 50-200 cm above floor
Fig. 13.6.5	2011.61	Cup/beaker	Nile B3UC	Ptolemaic	IV.SP3
Fig. 13.6.6	2011.99	Bowl	Nile B3RW	Ptolemaic	IV.C6, 0-50 cm
Fig. 13.7	2011.119	Storage vessel/ Amphora	Nile C3WWBI	4th to 3rd centuries	IV.S 5.1 + 5.2, 5.2 SW
Fig. 13.8	2011.87	Oil jar	K200RW	Ptolemaic	IV.N6, 15-20 cm above floor
Fig. 13.9	2011.13	Plate/dish	Nile/Mix I-g, WWMO painted	Islamic	IV. S.8, 50 cm from floor

* The following abbreviations are used for the surface treatment: RW = red washed; UC = uncoated; WW = white washed; RB = red burnished; WWBI = white washed, bichrome painted, WWMO = white washed, monochrome painted.

Finally, a number of remains of modern pottery reveal aspects of the recent history of the tomb of Karakhamun in connection with the Abd el Rasul family.

Future research will concentrate on a detailed study of the pottery from TT 223 datable to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty and will focus on the question of Kushite indigenous pottery at Thebes. Comparing the material from TT 223 with ceramics from both Abydos and present Sudan, ritual connections between Abydos, Thebes, and al-Kurru will be reviewed by means of the ceramic evidence.⁵⁸ Another focus of interest for the next season is pottery associated with the Twenty-seventh Dynasty—the embalming cache will be completely studied. Finally, several questions are still open concerning the functional use of TT 223 in Ptolemaic times, especially in the area of the First Pillared Hall—the pottery analysis will contribute to this research as well (table 13.3).

Notes

- 1 Julia Budka, “Neues zu den Nutzungsphasen des Monumentalgrabes von Anch-Hor, Obersthofmeister der Gottesgemahlin Nitokris (TT 414),” *Ägypten und Levante* 18 (2008): 61–85; Julia Budka, *Bestattungsbrauchtum und Friedhofsstruktur im Asasif. Eine Untersuchung der spätzeitlichen Befunde anhand der Ergebnisse der österreichischen Ausgrabungen in den Jahren 1969–1977*, Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo 34 (Vienna: Verl. der Öster. Akad. der Wiss., 2010), 82–84.
- 2 Budka, *Bestattungsbrauchtum und Friedhofsstruktur*, 222–24, 360–62, fig. 148; Julia Budka, “The Use of Pottery in Funerary Contexts during the Libyan and Late Period: A View from Thebes and Abydos,” in *Egypt in Transition: Social and Religious Development of Egypt in the First Millenium BCE*, edited by Ladislav Bareš et al. (Prague: Charles University in Prague, 2010), 37–46.
- 3 See Budka, *Bestattungsbrauchtum und Friedhofsstruktur*, 356–58, for further references.
- 4 Budka, *Bestattungsbrauchtum und Friedhofsstruktur*, 193–208.
- 5 For this late occurrence of Nile D, compare David A. Aston, *Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21–25: Chronology—Typology—Developments*, Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean 21, Öster. Akad. der Wiss., Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie 54 (Vienna: Verl. der Öster. Akad. der Wiss., 2009), 320. For this type of tall-necked jar, usually red slipped, see Aurélia Masson, “Persian and Ptolemaic Ceramics from Karnak: Change and Continuity,” *Cahiers de la Céramique Égyptienne* 9 (2011): 275, fig. 41.
- 6 David A. Aston and Barbara G. Aston, *Late Period Pottery from the New Kingdom Necropolis at Saqqâra*, Egypt Exploration Society–National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden, Excavations 1975–1995, Excavation Memoir 92 (London, Leiden: The Egypt Exploration Society, 2010), 3.
- 7 Budka, *Bestattungsbrauchtum und Friedhofsstruktur*, 202–203.
- 8 Compare Aston, *Burial Assemblages*, 320–21.
- 9 See Budka, *Bestattungsbrauchtum und Friedhofsstruktur*, 200, with references.
- 10 Colin Hope, “Kegs and Flasks from the Dakhleh Oasis,” *Cahiers de la Céramique Égyptienne* 6 (2000): 195; compare also Aston, *Burial Assemblages*, 321.
- 11 For comparison with similar finds from the Northern Asasif, see Budka, *Bestattungsbrauchtum und Friedhofsstruktur*, 424–26 (with further references on Aegean amphorae in Late Period Egypt).

- 12 For good parallels from Karnak, see Masson, "Persian and Ptolemaic Ceramics from Karnak," 310, figs. 114–16.
- 13 For functional aspects of funerary pottery, in particular overlapping boundaries between burial pottery and cultic vessels, see Budka, "The Use of Pottery in Funerary Contexts."
- 14 Referring to Aston's typology as published in Aston, *Burial Assemblages*, 321–48.
- 15 Uvo Hölscher, *The Excavations of Medinet Habu. Vol. 5: The Post-Ramesside Remains*, Oriental Institute Publications 66 (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1954), 74 and pl. 47, X 4; Aston, *Burial Assemblages*, 322, fig. 21:40.
- 16 Bruce B. Williams, *Twenty-fifth Dynasty and Napatan Remains at Qustul: Cemeteries W and V*, Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition Vol. 7 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 8, group IV, note a with references, figs. 2b and 21b; see also Budka, *Bestattungsbrauchstum und Friedhofsstruktur*, 345–46, fig. 141.
- 17 Budka, *Bestattungsbrauchstum und Friedhofsstruktur*, 345–46; Julia Budka, "Kushite Tomb Groups in Late Period Thebes," in *Proceedings of the 11th International Conference of Nubian Studies, Warsaw University, 27 August–2 September 2006, Part Two: Session Papers*, edited by Włodzimierz Godlewski and Adam Łajtar, Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean Supplement Series 2.2/2, Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology, University of Warsaw (Warsaw: Warsaw University Press, 2010), 507, fig. 3.
- 18 For general dating problems concerning Persian funerary remains, see David A. Aston, "Dynasty 26, Dynasty 30 or Dynasty 27? In Search of the Funerary Archaeology of the Persian Period," in *Studies in Ancient Egypt in Honour of H.S. Smith*, edited by Anthony Leahy and John Tait (London: The Egypt Exploration Society, 1999), 17–22.
- 19 See, most recently, Aston and Aston, *Late Period Pottery*, 27–59.
- 20 For different types of embalming deposits in Late Period Thebes, see Budka, "Deponierungen von Balsamierungsmaterial im spätzeitlichen Theben (Ägypten). Befund, Kontext und Versuch einer Deutung," in *Archäologie und Ritual. Auf der Suche nach der rituellen Handlung in den antiken Kulturen Ägyptens und Griechenlands*, edited by Jannis Mylonopoulos and Hubert Roeder (Vienna: Phoibos, 2006), 85–103; and Budka, *Bestattungsbrauchstum und Friedhofsstruktur*, 433–50.
- 21 Phonician amphorae (compare Elizabeth A. Bettles, *Phoenician Amphora Production and Distribution in the Southern Levant: A Multi-Disciplinary Investigation into Carinated-Shoulder Amphorae of the Persian Period (539–332 BC)*, BAR International Series 1183, Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 2003), which are very common throughout the Levant, are often found in Egyptian embalming deposits (compare Budka, *Bestattungsbrauchstum und Friedhofsstruktur*, 449; see also Aston and Aston, *Late Period Pottery*, 104–105).
- 22 Aston and Aston, *Late Period Pottery*, 48, nos. 105 and 107.
- 23 Budka, *Bestattungsbrauchstum und Friedhofsstruktur*, 220–22, figs. 86–87.
- 24 Masson, "Persian and Ptolemaic Ceramics from Karnak," 274 with note 36, figs. 29 and 34.
- 25 For example, Budka, *Bestattungsbrauchstum und Friedhofsstruktur*, 403; Gábor Schreiber, "Early and Middle Ptolemaic Funerary Art at Thebes (ca. 306–88 BC)," in *Proceedings of the Colloquium on Theban Archaeology at the Supreme Council of Antiquities*, edited by Zahi Hawass et al. (Cairo: Supreme Council of Antiquities, 2011), 112, fig. 10.
- 26 For example, Budka, *Bestattungsbrauchstum und Friedhofsstruktur*, 230–33, with further references, figs. 96–97.

- 27 Many parallels of this slender bottle shape are known from Abydos/Umm al-Qaab, see David A. Aston, "A Group of Twenty-Fifth Dynasty Pots from Abydos," *MDAIK* 52 (1996): fig. 3e; a similar Oasis bottle was recently found in the Mut precinct of Karnak, see Elaine Sullivan, "A Report on the Third Intermediate Period and Late Period Pottery from the Mut Temple, Luxor," *Cahiers de la Céramique Égyptienne* 9 (2011): 550, fig. 21.
- 28 The evidence for the Twenty-fifth Dynasty is restricted to three small rim sherds and a base of a goblet, which might eventually also prove to be intrusive/mixed from other areas of the tomb; the material of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty comprises several fragments of large storage vessels and other types, more likely to be associated with a burial.
- 29 Compare Budka, *Bestattungsbrauchtum und Friedhofsstruktur*, 420, fig. 172.
- 30 These find many parallels in the Northern Asasif (Budka, *Bestattungsbrauchtum und Friedhofsstruktur*, figs. 93, 197, 231 (Reg. 352g) and 241 (K92.9)) and Karnak (Masson, "Persian and Ptolemaic Ceramics from Karnak," 302, figs. 68–75).
- 31 Budka, "The Use of Pottery in Funerary Contexts," 22–72; and Budka, *Bestattungsbrauchtum und Friedhofsstruktur*, 380.
- 32 Schreiber, "Early and Middle Ptolemaic Funerary Art," 124, fig. 33.
- 33 Gábor Schreiber, "The Final Acts of Embalming: An Archaeological Note on Some Rare Objects in Theban Elite Burials of the Early Ptolemaic Period," in *Proceedings of the Fourth Central European Conference of Young Egyptologists, 31 August–2 September, 2006, Budapest*, edited by Kata Endreffy and András Gulyás, *Studia Aegyptiaca* 18 (Budapest: ELTE Régészeti Társzek, 2007), 342; Schreiber, "Early and Middle Ptolemaic Funerary Art," 124.
- 34 Schreiber, "The Final Acts of Embalming," 342; Budka, "The Use of Pottery in Funerary Contexts," 29.
- 35 Budka, *Bestattungsbrauchtum und Friedhofsstruktur*, 378.
- 36 Manfred Bietak and Elfriede Reiser-Haslauer, *Das Grab des Anch-Hor. Obersthofmeister der Gottesgemahlin Nitokris*, 2. Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institute 5 (Vienna: Öster. Akad. der Wiss., 1982), 153–59, fig. 65; Budka, "The Use of Pottery in Funerary Contexts," 38–46.
- 37 Compare Budka, "Neues zu den Nutzungsphasen," 79–80; Julia Budka, "Varianz im Regelwerk. Bestattungsabläufe im Monumentalgrab von Anch-Hor, Obersthofmeister der Gottesgemahlin Nitokris (TT 414)," *Ägypten und Levante* 20 (2010): 59–63.
- 38 Compare Budka, "The Use of Pottery in Funerary Contexts," 37–46.
- 39 See Irene Vincetelli, *Hillat el-Arab, the Joint Sudanese–Italian Expedition in the Napatan Region, Sudan*, BAR International Series 1570, Sudan Archaeological Research Society Publication 15 (Oxford, London: British Archaeological Reports, 2006), passim; Williams, *Twenty-Fifth Dynasty and Napatan Remains at Qustul*, passim.
- 40 Compare Lisa Heidorn, "Historical Implications of the Pottery from the Earliest Tombs at El Kurru," *JARCE* 31 (1994): 115–31; Julia Budka, "Egyptian Impact on Pot-breaking Ceremonies at Kurru? A Re-examination," in *Proceedings of the 12th International Conference for Nubian Studies, British Museum London, 1st August–6th August 2010*, edited by Derek A. Welsby and Julie R. Anderson (in press).
- 41 Budka, "The Use of Pottery in Funerary Contexts," 55–58.
- 42 Sullivan, "A Report," figs. 21, 28–30, 40, 49–50.

- 43 For example, David A. Aston, *Elephantine XIX, Pottery from the Late New Kingdom to the Early Ptolemaic Period*, AVDAIK 95 (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1999), passim; David A. Aston, "Amphorae, Storage Jars and Kegs from Elephantine: A Brief Survey of Vessels from the Eighth–Seventh Centuries BC to the Seventh–Eighth Centuries AD," in *Amphores d'Égypte de la Basse Époque à l'époque arabe 2*, edited by Sylvie Marchand and Antigone Marangou (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 2007), 419–44; Masson, "Persian and Ptolemaic Ceramics from Karnak," 269–310.
- 44 For two volumes presenting ceramics from Late Period temple tombs, see Erhart Graefe, *Das Grab des Padihorresnet, Obervermögensverwalter der Gottesgemahlin des Amun (Thebanisches Grab Nr. 196)*, Monumenta Aegyptiaca 9 (Tournhout: Brepols; Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 2003); Budka, *Bestattungsbrauch und Friedhofsstruktur*.
- 45 Aston and Aston, *Late Period Pottery*, passim.
- 46 Masson, "Persian and Ptolemaic Ceramics from Karnak," 269–310, with further references.
- 47 Budka, "Neues zu den Nutzungsphasen," and "The Use of Pottery in Funerary Contexts."
- 48 Sabine Laemmel, "A Pottery Assemblage from the Tomb of Harwa (Western Thebes): Mortuary and Cultic Reuse of a 25th Dynasty Funerary Structure," in *Functional Aspects of Egyptian Ceramics in their Archaeological Context. Proceedings of a Conference held at the McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, Cambridge, July 24th–July 25th, 2009*, edited by Bettina Bader and Mary Ownby, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 217 (Leuven: Peeters, 2012), 3, 217–47.
- 49 Gábor Schreiber, *Late Dynastic and Ptolemaic Painted Pottery from Thebes (4th–2nd c. BC)*, Dissertationes Pannonicae Ser. 3, Vol. 6 (Budapest: ELTE Régészeti Tanszek, 2003), passim.
- 50 Schreiber, "Early and Middle Ptolemaic Funerary Art," 105–39.
- 51 Aston, *Egyptian Pottery of the Late New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period*, SAGA 13 (Heidelberg: Heidelbergerverlag, 1996), 15.
- 52 Aston, *Burial Assemblages*, 317.
- 53 Budka, "The Use of Pottery in Funerary Contexts," 22.
- 54 Cf. Angelika Lohwasser, "Fremde Heimat. Selektive Akkulturation in Kusch," in *Timelines: Studies in Honour of Manfred Bietak 3*, edited by Ernst Czerny, Irmgard Hein, Hermann Hunger, Dagmar Melman, and Angela Schwab (*Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 149.3, Leuven: Peeters, 20), 136; Budka, "Kushite Tomb Groups," 503–18, Budka, "Individuen, indigene Gruppe oder integrierter Teil der ägyptischen Gesellschaft? Zur soziologischen Aussagekraft materieller Hinterlassenschaften von Kuschiten im spätzeitlichen Ägypten," in *Sozialisierungen: Individuum—Gruppe—Gesellschaft, Beiträge des ersten Münchner Arbeitskreises Junge Ägyptologie (MAJA 1)*, 3. bis 5.12. 2010, edited by Gregor Neunert et al., *Göttinger Orientforschungen Reihe IV*, vol. 51 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2012), 45–60.
- 55 Compare Budka, "Kushite Tomb Groups," 514.
- 56 Budka, "The Use of Pottery in Funerary Contexts," 62–64.
- 57 Compare Masson, "Persian and Ptolemaic Ceramics from Karnak," 269–310.
- 58 Budka, "Egyptian Impact on Pot-breaking Ceremonies."

A Preliminary Note on the Faunal Remains from the South Asasif Conservation Project

Salima Ikram

The South Asasif Conservation Project is extremely rich in faunal remains. This brief report only evaluates the nature of the different deposits, as it is based on a very short site visit made in June 2011. Identifications were made in the field with a very small comparative collection. Ageing is based on Silver.¹ The bones had been collected by hand and none were sieve finds. They had been bagged and stored by the mission in the tombs. It is clear that the vast majority of bones are part of the taphonomic history of the different tombs and unrelated to the original burials. Below, each area is treated individually.

Karakhamun TT 223

The tomb of Karakhamun contained a vast deposit of animal bones throughout the tomb (fig. 14.1). Particular concentrations occur in the First Pillared Hall, about seventy-five centimeters in depth. Faunal remains were also retrieved from the ramp leading to the First Pillared Hall, the steps (VII), from the First Chamber in Area IX (the level above the shaft), and Chamber X.1 (above the burial chamber). A cursory examination of several bone bags shows that the majority of bones came from cattle (*Bos taurus*), with the remainder coming from sheep (*Ovis aries*) or goat (*Capra hircus*).

The most curious among the deposits was the one in the First Pillared Hall, as many of the bones were covered in, splattered by, or embedded in a blue or greeny-black vitreous material (figs. 14.2 and 14.3). This curious substance was a bit like slag or even like the glaze found on faience. It has yet to be tested, and thus is not properly identified. It might be possible that the bone itself was exposed to a very high temperature and vitrified, although the blue that adheres to many bones looks more like an application, leading one to speculate that the area might have been used for some



Fig. 14.1. Debris section with a bone layer. First Pillared Hall. Tomb of Karakhamun. *Photo Katherine Blakeney SACP*

sort of ceramic or faience production and that the various materials used in this might have been spread around onto bones that were being used as fuel (fig. 14.4). Thus far, this author has found nothing in the literature dealing with the burning of bones to explain this phenomenon.² Thus far, no parallels of such a phenomenon have been found in other publications of Theban tombs. This might be due to an oversight on the part of the author, or the fact that in the past, archaeologists summarily removed later deposits in tombs without recording their presence adequately. However, the vitreous material is so odd and so striking (particularly the blue) that one thinks that it might have been mentioned if encountered elsewhere.

Ten examples of the vitreous bone were studied, the smallest measuring twenty centimeters by ten centimeters, and the largest measuring sixty-five centimeters by eighty centimeters, with most of the samples measuring fifty centimeters by sixty centimeters. The vast majority (about 98 percent) of the bones belonged to cattle. The cattle were mature as well as juvenile (under two and a half years in age), with more bones coming from mature animals. All bones of the skeleton were represented, including the hyoid, although there were few skull and tooth fragments. The few bones that belonged to ovicaprids included vertebrae, metapodia, possibly ribs, and one humerus.

A random selection of bone bags from Chamber X.1 (above the burial) was also investigated, and 763 bones identified. Here, too, the vast majority were of cattle. Both mature and immature animals were identified. Again, all body parts were

represented, although very few cranial fragments (five) and mandibular fragments (one), and no teeth were identified within the bone bags that were examined. The bones from this area were, for the most part, white and bore no traces of the blue vitreous material found on bones from the courtyard. A few of the bones (from X.1) were burnt black, and a very few (four) bore traces of resin. Perhaps these were part of an original deposit of food offerings, as were commonly found in elite Theban tombs of the New Kingdom.³ Certainly all, or almost all, of the other bones date to subsequent usage(s) of the tomb. Although ovicaprid remains were found here, they were very few. The anatomical elements originating from the sheep/goats included humerus, femur, tibia, vertebrae, ribs, and metapodia.

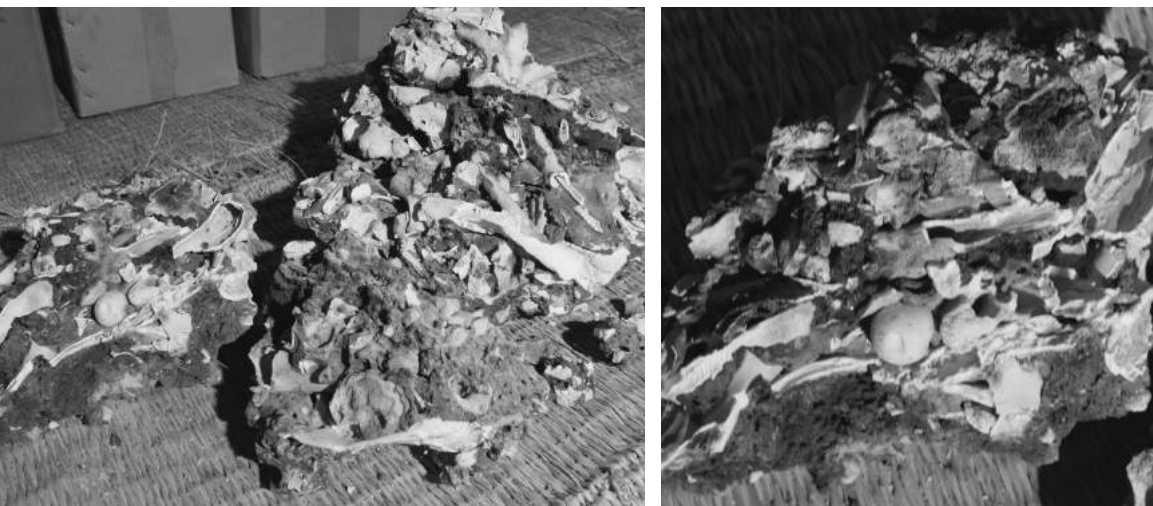
Area VII, the steps, was also rich in bones, some of which were very highly burnt. Many had been burnt at such a high temperature that they had warped. Although many of the burnt and warped bones were black, some had burnt white or blue and were also warped. A total of 288 bones were identified from here. Again, the vast majority (97 percent) came from cattle, with a very few bones belonging to ovicaprids. In this part of the tomb one can say that roughly 40 percent of the cattle were juvenile and 60 percent mature; in other parts of the tomb, the ratio of mature animals to juveniles was higher.

Again, all body parts were represented, including a hoof, complete with keratin. More skull and mandible fragments were found here than in other parts of the tomb, including the horn cores of both juvenile and mature animals, orbits, mandibular fragments, and teeth. A hyoid was also recovered. Ovicaprid remains were few, consisting of the horn core of a goat and a couple of rib fragments.

The last area of TT 223 whose bones were examined was Area IX, the level above the shaft. The bones from here were very white and brittle, and some (IX.6) were folded over, suggesting that they had been burnt to a very high temperature and then warped. A total of 262 bones were identified from here. Once again, cattle bones were in the ascendancy, with all body parts being represented, including a very few teeth. Again, fewer head bones and teeth were found here. The majority of the cattle were mature animals, although about 27 percent of the bones came from juveniles. A very few ovicaprid bones were found; it should be noted that the identification of all of these is not secure, as one first phalange looks larger than usual and might belong to a wild goat of some sort. Two bones, a left and right humerus with both proximal and distal epiphyses unfused, have tentatively been identified as coming from a pig. This might be indicative of the presence of a Christian settlement in the area.

Karabasken TT 391

A cursory examination was made of the bones that were in situ in this tomb. Room 2 of this tomb contains an enormous deposit (an average of at least 1.30 meters high from the floor level) of animal bone, the vast majority of which comes from cattle. All body parts seem to be represented, with more skull fragments visible than in the other tombs, notably TT 223.



Figs. 14.2, 14.3, and 14.4. Animal bones embedded in a vitreous material. First Pillared Hall. Tomb of Karakhamun. *Photo Katherine Blakeney SACP*

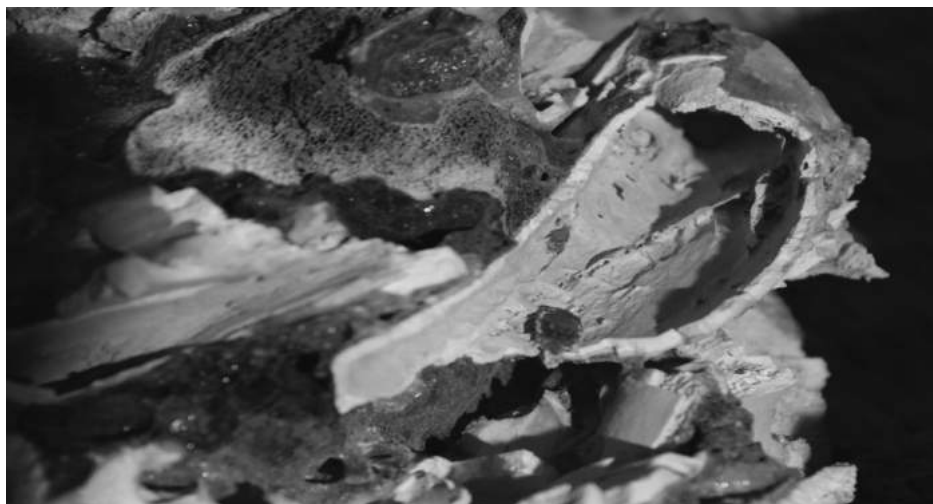
It is very curious that the inner room of this tomb is this full of densely packed bones. Until excavated, one will not know if there are any other objects packed in with them, or the date of the deposit. Certainly ceramics might provide a clue to the dating of this assemblage. While many other Theban tombs have been filled by their fair share of debris, this density of bone is not common (or unknown to this author). Did the area act as a midden for a nearby settlement or was this offering debris from a temple? The fact that all bones are represented does not argue for a butcher's dump—unless all the meat was removed from the bone and sold, as is still seen in Damascus, other parts of the Levant, and elsewhere. However, this pattern of butchery is not attested in Egypt, where the bone is generally part of what is purchased.

Irtieru TT 390

Only a few moments were spent examining the faunal remains from this tomb, thus only a few bags were investigated. No ovicaprid remains were identified in those bags. All the bones came from cattle, with no ribs, vertebrae (save for a fragment of an atlas vertebra), mandibles, or skull fragments found. Of course, this is probably not a true reflection of the assemblage and is more a matter of chance in terms of what was found in these randomly selected bags.

Conclusion

The tombs studied by the South Asasif Conservation Project in this area all seem to have experienced very heavy reuse. This resulted in a surprisingly thick deposit of animal bones, primarily of cattle. The reason for such a dense deposit needs to be explored further, as the amount of bone far exceeds what one would expect from a



domestic midden. Additionally, the fact that the dominant animal is cattle is puzzling. Cattle tend to be a high-status food, both now and in the historic and ancient past. Domestic middens of the non-elite should contain a higher percentage of sheep and goat bones, as well as poultry. The historic use of the tombs here needs further consideration: the deposit of cattle bones may, for example, possibly be a part of middens deriving from nearby temples (such as the Ramesseum) or army encampments (dating to the Roman period or even as late as the nineteenth century). Both the temple and the army were structures that relied upon state-supplied cattle as food. The dating of these deposits cannot be established from the bones without C-14 dating, which may not in itself be totally reliable. Perhaps the analysis of related ceramic assemblages can be of some help. In any case, a more thorough analysis of the faunal remains will shed light on the history of this group of tombs and the role that they played in this part of Thebes, from the period of their initial establishment as cult chapels and burial places to their later reuse.

Notes

- 1 I.A. Silver, "The Ageing of Domestic Animals," in *Science in Archaeology*, edited by Don Brothwell and Eric S. Higgs (London: Thames and Hudson, 1963), 282–302.
- 2 P. Shipman et al., "Burnt Bones and Teeth: An Experimental Study of Color, Morphology, Crystal Structure and Shrinkage," *Journal of Archaeological Science* 11 (1984): 307–25.
- 3 Salima Ikram, *Choice Cuts: Meat Production in Ancient Egypt* (Leuven: Peeters, 1995), Appendix II.

Abbreviations

AÄ	Ägyptologische Abhandlungen, Wiesbaden
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
ASAE	Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte, Cairo
AVDAIK	Archäologische Veröffentlichungen, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo.
BAR	British Archaeological Reports
BdÉ	Bibliothèque d'Étude, Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale
BIFAO	Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Cairo
BiOr	Bibliotheca Orientalis, Leiden
BMSAES	British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan
BSFE	<i>Bulletin de la Société française d'égyptologie</i>
CAA	Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum
CdÉ	Chronique d'Égypte, Brussels
CG	Catalogue general des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire
DE	Discussions in Egyptology
ESPL	Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period (Bothmer et al)
GM	Göttinger Miszellen, Göttingen
IFAO	Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale
JARCE	Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt
JEA	The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, London
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies, Chicago
LÄ	Lexikon der Ägyptologie.
LD	Lepsius Denkmäler
LGG	Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen (ed. Leitz)
MÄS	Münchener ägyptologische Studien

MDAIK	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo, Mainz, Cairo, Berlin, Wiesbaden
MIFAO	Mémoires publiés par les Membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale
MittSAG	Mitteilungen der Sudanarchäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin
PÄ	Probleme der Ägyptologie
PKG	Propyläen-Kunstgeschichte
PM	Porter and Moss (Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Painting)
PSBA	Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology
RdE	Revue d'Égyptologie, Paris
SAGA	Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens
SAK	Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilizations
SOAS	School of Oriental and African Studies (University of London)
Verl. der Österr. Akad. der Wiss.	Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
ZÄS	Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde

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